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Sydney Howard Gay,
Maria Weston Chapman, } **Editors.**
Edmund Quincy,

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Selections.

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

The Madisonian publishes some further correspondence in relation to Texas. We publish it as still further confirmation, if any was needed, of the object of Annexation, and of its probable results, and also of the uniform hostility and treachery which the United States has from the commencement of the Texas revolt, maintained towards Mexico.

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

We translate the following correspondence from the Diario del Gobierno, of Mexico.

Mr. Green to Mr. Bocanegra.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, }
Mexico, May 24, 1844. }

The undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires, *ad interim* of the United States of America, has the honor to inform his Excellency, J. M. De Bocanegra, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Government of the Mexican Republic, that by a special messenger he has just received despatches from his Government which directs him to inform that of this republic, that there has been signed a treaty for the annexation of Texas to the United States by the plenipotentiaries of both Governments; and that the said treaty would be immediately submitted to the Senate for its approbation.

The President of the United States has directed the undersigned to accompany this communication to the Government of Mexico, with the strongest assurance that in adopting that measure, the Government of the United States had not been impelled by any sentiments failing in respect, or of indifference to the honor or dignity of Mexico, and were the Mexican Government to view it in any other light, it would be subject of great regret.

He has also directed the undersigned to declare that the Government of the United States had found itself forced to make this step in its own proper defence, on account of the policy adopted by Great Britain relative to the abolition of Slavery in Texas. It was impossible for the United States to look with indifference on the efforts of Great Britain to abolish Slavery in that territory. It could not also but be aware that that nation had, in the present condition of Texas, means within its reach amply sufficient to consummate its policy, unless impeded by more efficacious measures; and if that object were consummated, it would conduce to a state of affairs extremely dangerous to the adjacent States, and to the Federal Union. In the view of all this, the Government of the United States has been compelled by the necessity of the case, and with a view to their constitutional obligations, to take the step it has adopted. It has taken this after a full examination of all possible consequences, but not without the desire and hope that the frank and entire manifestation of the cause, may preserve undisturbed the harmony existing between these countries.

The President of the said States has also directed the undersigned to assure the Government of Mexico that his desire is to arrange all the questions between the two countries, which emanate from the said treaty, or from any other cause, in a manner the most liberal and satisfactory, including the question of boundary. That the President of the United States would duly appreciate the concurrence of Mexico in this step, for, aside from its respect for Mexico, and its lively desire that both countries may continue their friendly relations, he could not consent that a measure which he believes can involve the security of the Union, should depend on the contingency of previously obtaining the consent of Mexico.

He has, however, taken the precaution that the stipulations of the treaty shall be as unobjectionable as possible to Mexico; and among others, he has omitted to specify as to the limits of Texas, in order that the dividing line might be a question for future friendly and full discussion, and be arranged conformably to the respective rights, security, and interests, of both countries.

The undersigned, &c.
(Signed) BEN. E. GREEN.

Mr. Bocanegra to Mr. Green.

NATIONAL PALACE, }
Mexico, May 30, 1844. }

The undersigned, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Government, had the honor to receive the note which the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the United States was pleased to address him, dated the 24th instant, in which he deemed it proper to communicate the arrival of an official messenger, sent with despatches of his Government for the legation of the United States of America, for informing this Republic that the Executive of those States had signed and transmitted to the Senate a treaty for the annexation of the department of Texas to the Union of said States.

The simple reading of the note which the undersigned is about to reply to, will suffice to show the magnitude and the gravity of the subject of which it treats: and it is certainly wonderful that an enlightened Government, ruled by principles so liberal, and so cemented by the well-known universal rule, to receive nothing but what is right, to guard and respect in all events, and by all means the imprescriptible rights of man, and of societies of men, should proceed to approve, sign, and transmit to the Senate a treaty which undoubtedly and notoriously despoils Mexico of a department which in propriety and in legal possession belongs to it, and has always belonged to it according to the clearest, most distinct, repeated, and very ancient protests made by the Government of this Republic, presented not only to the Government and Republic of the United States, but also before all the nations of the world.

An occurrence like the one announced in the note of Mr. Green, leads, without doubt, to consequences of the most serious and of the highest importance; because no one can be ignorant that when treating of national affairs, attention should be given to the same principles and rights, that are applicable to private cases. Thus, they are essentially the same, whether applied to individual or social relations. Is the step made by the Government of the United States of America, in conformity with these rules and principles of reason, of true policy, and of justice, which, as Mr. Green knows, are acknowledged by nations in all reciprocal transactions? The act, of itself alone, shows clearly that in practice, sight is lost of those principles which have been the safeguards of Governments and of men in their relations, compacts, and generally in their actions.

Mr. Green, when referring to the instructions of his Government, gives Mexico assurances the most distinct, that in adopting the measure of making a treaty for the Annexation, it was induced by no principle, nor had any other object in view than its own proper security and defence, on account of the policy adopted by Great Britain for the abolition of Slavery.

The undersigned will not, nor should he, undertake to point out to the United States the course they should pursue in their relations with Great Britain; nor what policy might be advisable in respect to that nation; neither should we for one moment consider what advantages or disadvantages would result to the United States by the differences or divisions noted and revealed by the press in a public and undeniable manner which exist in those States themselves relative to Slavery; the institution being defended in those in which it exists, and in those in which it does not, looked on with horror, and as the remains of barbarous ages, proscribed by the philosophy and superior intelligence of the present epoch. These questions, indeed, would not have engaged the attention of the undersigned had not the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States alluded to them. Their fate depends on future circumstances, and on a progress which cannot be stopped.

But when, to uphold this Slavery, and to prevent its disappearance from Texas and other points, it is determined on to cut off from Mexico an integral part of her possession, as the only certain and efficacious remedy to prevent that which Mr. Green calls a dangerous occurrence, should Mexico keep silence, and give assent to the actual policy of the Executive of the United States, the contempt and censure of all nations should be its reward.

If the series of events which are known to the American legation, and the notoriety of which it is enough to insinuate, have placed the colonists of Texas and the adventurers who have been latterly introduced, without other character or mission than their own desires and the inspirations and impulses given them, have qualified them to usurp a territory over which they themselves do not exercise full and absolute dominion, in the part not colonized by them, they cannot and should not be considered *primi occupantis*. If this series of events has retarded the vindication of that territory, (although the right to reclaim it has never ceased to be sustained,) it by no means gives a legal title to the insurgent colonists, much less to the new comers to be considered as its masters; let the reasons advanced be what they may, it will be enough to confront them with the repeated deeds and protest of Mexico to preserve the plenitude of her rights.

The best titles to dominion are those which are based on the good faith, and such are not found in the conduct of those who have directly or indirectly, constituted themselves usurpers. Mexico, convinced of this truth, generally acknowledged and comprehended in the principle, that that is not denied to a nation which is conceded to individuals, has maintained the territory of Texas as hers, although from a combination of circumstances, foreign to her wish, her constant action to revindicate it had measurably slackened.

For such ends, Mexico has always operated for the reconquest of Texas, pursuant to the customs of nations, without its being possible, even by a solitary act, to indicate that she ever had the intention to give over or renounce her imprescriptible rights—rights the more sacred, because they are of the same nature with those by which they acquired their own legal possession.

Mexico, the undersigned repeats, in accordance with her uniform efforts to maintain the justice of her cause, protests before the whole world, and in the most solemn manner, against the acknowledgment which the United States have made of the independence of Texas, as an act of daring encroachment against her sovereignty (*como de un acto atentatoria a su soberania,*) for in reality this acknowledgment, accomplished so unluckily, denying or despising the rules of diplomacy, and without any regard to right, cannot be deemed national or reasonable, (*buen sentido*) but as the political apotheosis of usurpation. Mr Green knows what has been the conduct of the Supreme Government towards the United States in the face of circumstances leading to rupture.

The Government of the undersigned is informed, and will prove by incontestible documents, that the proclamation and act of independence of Texas, included a number of Mexicans, scarcely reached to ten, and that those who figured as principals, almost in their totality, were persons from the United States, who would never have ventured on a step so disloyal if they had not counted on the elements to sustain them, in a struggle with a nation of which they would not make the slightest complaint, and without any other cause, than the frankness and kindness with which the first colonists had been admitted.

Experience has shown that what was conjecture or suspicion at that period, is now a lamentable reality. The meetings publicly announced in New Orleans, and in other parts of the United States, for the purpose of exciting sympathies in favor of the so-called Republic; the emigration of armed adventurers; the implements of war, armaments and munitions, which were furnished, and other acts of hostility, prove that all has proceeded from that Republic, the Executive of which has signed the treaty for Annexation.

The acts of aggression on Mexico, and the leaders who directed them, have all proceeded from the Republic of Washington, although often, and with regret the Supreme Government of Mexico, by the undersigned as well as by its Minister in those States, by means of conferences and notes, has endeavored, without success, to induce the Government of that Republic to put a termination to those acts, and act in conformity with the treaties which bind, by a firm conventional right, both Republics.

This very day, the note of the 24th May, which the undersigned is answering, gives the most distinct, full, and clear proof that the Mexican Republic, under every aspect, has been wounded in its rights, and outraged in its honor and dignity. Mr. Green says, by order of his Government, that a treaty has been adjusted and signed for the Annexation of Texas to the United States, and that it lacked in no consideration due by that Republic to Mexico, and states that such a step was necessary for the security and interest of the United States. The Chargé d'Affaires of the Government of Washington will permit me to remind him, as well as his Government and the people whom he represents, that this act, which he states is done out of respect to Mexico, is in reality the manifestation of an act consummated, if not by constitutional completion, at least on the part of the Executive, who has done all that was within his reach, without even considering Mexico and her rights, her honor and dignity, entitled to the least part in a transaction of which he now really gives notice.

The Chargé d'Affaires gives assurance that this step has been taken by his Government, after a mature examination of all the consequences possible. And even yet he affirms that respect has been had to Mexico, and that her rights have been considered. Neither the undersigned nor his Government can answer deeds with words; although they would remark, that the rights of the Mexican nation are so clear, distinct, and obligatory, that the same Government of the United States has expressly acknowledged them in the note sent; and it is not a little remarkable, that a document bearing a confession so express, should be the same to give assurance to Mexico, that what belong to it is to be permanently possessed by the United States.

Finally, the Chargé d'Affaires assures Mexico that his Government is anxious for the arrangement of all questions that can result from this treaty, including that of boundaries, taking it for granted that the treaty is complete. The undersigned has express orders from the President of the Republic to say, and to state in the most distinct and express manner, that Mexico has neither renounced, nor ought to renounce, and consequently does not renounce, nor in any manner cede totally nor in part, its rights; that its firm and constant resolution has been, and is, to sustain the integrity and dignity of the nation; that this time, so opportune for the reproduction of its protests, he would offer them anew, one by one, but remarking especially on the one under date of the 25th of August, 1843, in these words: "That the Government of Mexico will consider the annexation of Texas to the territory of the United States as a declaration of war against the Mexican Republic."

The undersigned would also say, by order of his Government, that existing as there does, a formal treaty between Mexico and the United States, which fixes the limits between them, Mexico is disposed to comply with them, and to give them a scientific survey, such being the only requisite wanting; that whatever is not pursued in conformity with the principles of international law, will be to forsake a legitimate obligation to enter into a negotiation failing in legality in its origin, and on which no new proceeding can be based.

In conclusion, the undersigned cannot do less than call the attention of Mr. Green and his Government to the satisfaction required, not only on account of the annexation arranged by the treaty, but also for the outrage and atrocious injury done to Mexico, to its dignity and its rights, by the signing of the said treaty; and Mexico flatters herself with the hope that the Senate of an enlightened nation, free, and founded by the immortal Washington, will not consummate constitutionally an act condemned by reason and justice. But, if unfortunately and against this hope, the treaty should be approved, Mexico, in an event so important, will consider herself in that position in which she must act, in conformity with the right of nations and her protests.

The undersigned, &c.
(Signed) JOSE MARIA DE BOCANEGRA.

Mr. Greene to Mr. Bocanegra.

LEGATION OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA, }
MEXICO, May 21, 1844. }

The undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the United States of America, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of his Excellency Jose Maria de Bocanegra, dated yesterday, a copy of which the undersigned has transmitted to his Government. The undersigned will content himself merely with acknowledging the receipt of the note, leaving to his Government to make the reply deemed suitable to a communication so extraordinary. He considers the note so indecorous, and the tenor of its contents so little worthy of his official character as the representative of a powerful nation, whose generosity Mexico has more than once experienced, that it is unnecessary to make any reference to the injurious epithets of his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

There is one passage, however, in the note of his Excellency, Mr. Bocanegra, to which, he grieves he is compelled to allude. It is that in which it is said, "Mr. Green, by order of his Government, says that there has been concluded and signed, a treaty for the Annexation of Texas, and without lacking in the respect due to Mexico, he informs the Government that the United States have been obliged to that measure for their own security and interest, &c." "It is not a little remarkable that a document which contains a declaration so express, (regarding the rights of Mexico,) should also be the same in which is found those rights of necessity, &c. on the part of the United States." If his Excellency will again refer to the note of the undersigned, he will see that he is entirely mistaken as to its contents.

The undersigned would much regret to entertain the belief that M. de Bocanegra would wilfully desire to misconstrue his meaning. The Government of the United States, in directing this communication to Mexico, did not admit, directly or indirectly, that Mexico was the legitimate superior of Texas, nor that it merited, as such, any explanation or apology. The independence of Texas having been acknowledged not only by the United States, but also by the principal powers of the world, the majority of which have established diplomatic relations with that territory, it must be considered as an independent and sovereign power, competent to treat for itself, precisely as was done by the Mexican authorities, whose power Texas has resisted with good success for the period of eight years, the United States are under no obligation, therefore, to regard its previous relations with this country. But, notwithstanding, the Government of the United States has deemed it convenient to manifest to Mexico, in the most friendly and sincere manner, the motives for its conduct, because it looked upon Mexico as worthy of that consideration, not as possessor of Texas, either *de facto* or *de jure*, but as a neighbor of Texas or of the United States, and as a member of the family of American Republics.

The undersigned would permit himself here to express his surprise, that Mexico should again reiterate its unfounded protests against the conduct which the Government of the United States thought proper to adopt regarding the Republic of Texas, and more especially, that it should direct these protests to these same nations as have acknowledged the independence of Texas, and have for a long time denied to Mexico any rights in the matter. The principle to which his Excellency assents, that Mexico, with vain protests on paper could preserve their rights to the territory of Texas, when the facts are notorious that Texas has declared and maintained her independence for so many years, and that during all this time Mexico could not re-conquer it; and finally, for that object she has discontinued all efforts, is truly new and extraordinary. With the same pretext Mexico might say that its empire is the world, and its subjects the different nations by which the world is peopled, and claim that its rights may be acknowledged.

The undersigned begs permission to express his regret, that Mexico should reject the friendly propositions of the Government of the United States, to arrange the questions arising out of their present relations; and he embraces this opportunity to say, that if Mexico should declare war, as she has threatened, she will herself be the aggressor, and alone responsible for the evils which may follow. At the same time, the United States will pursue the policy required by their honor and interest, guided solely by what is thought to be due to themselves and other nations.

The undersigned has reason to congratulate his country on this correspondence, because the world can now see that the United States, in all its career in this matter, have conducted themselves with honor, justice, and clemency towards Mexico; and that in deferring so long a time what other nations who have acknowledged the independence of Texas have declared to be within their right, and suspended the exercise of that right until it was necessary for their security, have done more than Mexico could expect from them. The world will also know the manner in which Mexico has considered the friendly propositions of the United States; and if it should come to a declaration of war, with all the evils which are its concomitants, the censure must fall on those who provoke it. The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) BEN. E. GREEN.

From the Kennebec Journal.

DISSOLUTION.

The Boston Liberator, and the New-York Anti-Slavery Standard, are now zealously advocating a dissolution of the Union. This is perfectly consistent with the argument and course of policy of the Liberty Party, though these papers are not of that party. They say "No union with slaveholders." The Liberty Party say, "Let no slaveholder have an office. Vote for no man who himself votes for a slaveholder. Do not recognize a slaveholder or any abettor of Slavery as eligible to office under the Federal government." Does any one suppose there can be any union between the North and South on such principles? Certainly not. It is dissolution. The course taken by the Liberator and Standard is therefore open, frank, and honorable. They mean dissolution, and they say so. But we are not ready for that. We wish to preserve the Union: and whilst we would not absolutely proscribe all slaveholders, and put them out of the pale of the Union, we would at the same time, take decided ground in support of the interests of the free States, or rather the great interests of the Nation, and not permit a knot of bigoted, selfish, and clannish slaveholders, jealous of all interest but those of slavery, to bend everything to their purposes, whether by involving us in war to extend the desolating dominion of Slavery, or by denying all protection to free labor, or by monopolizing most of the offices of the army, the navy, and the civil list.

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Communications.

REPORT OF THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

(Continued.)

WEDNESDAY MORNING—*Second Day:* On motion of EDMUND QUINCY, the Convention decided that, at eleven o'clock, whatever business might be under discussion should be laid on the table, in order to hear statements from the Executive Committee of the American Society.

WILLIAM A. WHITE then moved that the question on the resolutions embodying the sentiment—No union with Slaveholders—be taken at five o'clock, P. M. which motion was negatived.

ABIGAIL FOLSON renewed her remarks of yesterday.

HENRY CLAPP.—There were one or two remarks made last night on these resolutions, which struck strangely on my ear. It was claimed that an oath given to support the Constitution should always be allowed the most latitudinarian construction. My young friend White will be ashamed of that before a twelvemonth is over. This is the great thing that hinders the progress of Anti-Slavery;—that the Abolitionists themselves are not quick to see and feel when a course of conduct conflicts with their principles. This is to be the doctrine, is it?—that a man shall go forward before the assembled people with an oath to sustain Slavery, and Anti-Slavery shall come up and defend him in it. I put my foot upon it as unworthy of an Abolitionist, and degrading to a man. In the name of Heaven let us abjure this, if we die! When the Abolitionist adopted the American Anti-Slavery Society's Constitution, he in effect swore against the Constitution of the United States; and is he now going to put in the miserable plea, that Slavery is legalized, and so all our Anti-Slavery action must be subject to the Constitution of the United States? That's church ethics. That's clergymen's ethics. Anti-Slavery ethics is ashamed of such a position. It was said by my friend, that his interpretation of the compact would be generally understood in the community. I know not what *his* contract may be; mine is *not* a piece of ragged parchment. What I say I mean; and my word is the sign of my thought.

But the ground is laid down that the meaning of the Constitution is nothing to those who take oath to it. They have the words only to deal with, and may torture them as they will. How does this doctrine affect contracts in general? Suppose it were you and I alone who had made a contract, and there existed some doubt as to the meaning. Do men go to the Dictionary with their doubts?—Do they appeal to Johnson's Lexicography? No! Common sense says go to them that framed it if you would know what it means.

This whole course of argument assumes that the Constitution is in the main, an Anti-Slavery Instrument, though in the face of all history, and all precedents, and all existing facts, which prove it to be a thorough-going pro-slavery instrument. What a prodigality of verbal criticism has been expended! but you can't make Anti-Slavery, pro-slavery, or pro-slavery, Anti-Slavery, with all the Dictionaries in the universe. It is singular, if you will observe it, that all who cling to the Constitution seem to mistrust its power to buoy them up. Dr. Channing with weeping eyes mourned over it as if it were almost tottering to its fall. Here's another consideration that may help men to determine its character. It is what the people make it, they say—well, what are the people? The holders of two and a half millions of slaves; and what *have* they made the Constitution? Why, a Slaveholding Constitution, from stem to stern,—from keel to kelson. The people *do hold slaves under it.* By their own showing, then, it is pro-slavery; and let every Anti-Slavery man crush it to death! What is the use of the Union? Garrison well said this nation makes an idol of it;—the nation bends, a supple tool, before it, bearing every injury and every insult done to freedom and humanity; and it is time that it was broken up. Well did Garrison say that blasphemy against God is less horrible in the eyes of this people, than the condemnation of their unhallowed Union for the holding of slaves. [*Strong expressions of disapprobation.*]

See, how the hisses come up! You'll always hear that sound, when the waters of truth drop into the vortex of hell. [Silence followed, by *overwhelming applause.*] Not a word must be said in disparagement of this Slaveholding Union. But when Henry Clay and the Rev. Mr. Frelinghuysen are held up to the world as its representatives, a shout of applause echoes from Barnstable to Berkshire; and does not that show what some Massachusetts men at least think their own worshipped Union to be! When will they take the besom of truth, and sweep clean away all this sophistry and technicality? Is it not *known* that here are fourteen millions of people holding two and a half millions in slavery? Those few hundreds of thousands at the South—could *they* hold those strong millions? Have *they* the power to do it? No! they derive it from you! they rely upon you! They know that they cannot support slavery without this Union.

In the course of the last few months it has been my pain to hold conversation with clergymen all over New England, on the subject of Slavery. They have said, "It is Constitutional,—you have no right to assail it." A friend of mine who came out in defence of her Anti-Slavery position before an august Doctor of Divinity, was told by him that her ground was untenable, because Slavery was legal and constitutional. She told me that she looked him in the face, and asked him, "When the laws of men conflict with the laws of God, ought I not break these laws of men?" "My child," said this Doctor of Divinity, "there's no knowing where such a doctrine will lead you to." [*Name! name!*] I would cheerfully and gladly give it, but when my friend told me this, she expressed the wish that her name might not be made public, and I said, it is the fact that is important, and though I shall mention that, you shall not be troubled by the public announcement of your name. [*Name of the clergyman.*] The Reverend Dr. Nichols, of Portland: President of the Unitarian Association. [Shame! Shame!] Why cry shame on him? What is the universal doctrine? Why, that when man's laws and God's laws conflict, man's laws are to be preferred, even as long as they *are* man's laws. If there be any opponent here, *he* will agree to that. [*Cries, not true!*] Why, then, does the sound of your disapproval go hissing to my brain, when I charge it upon you that you put the Union in the place of God! [A VOICE—*true only to a limited extent of the clergymen.*] I'd go barefoot from Boston to the end of the State, to see the clergyman who didn't subscribe to it. [VOICES—*There are a hundred now in this city who do not go for that doctrine. Here's one who does not! Great applause.*] I am glad the audience have signified their estimation of him by the adoption of that unanimous *stamp act.* If he *don't* go this doctrine, he is one clergyman of a thousand. I call upon him to rally his people next Sunday round the standard of dissolution, and to declare himself to *them* a rebel against this nation, as he has done here to-day. [Hisses and applause.] I am glad to hear those hisses. I consider free speech the most important thing, and every one must use his vernacular. I hope, I say, that next Sunday, before his people, that gentleman will make good his words: and I am not the man to say he would not, unless I should find him saying, in the same breath in which he asserted the supremacy in the laws of God, that, on the subject of Slavery, man's laws and God's laws are identical in this nation. The doctrine generally held, while clinging to the Constitution like drowning men, is, obey the law, be it what it may, while it is written on the statute-book. The general statement of the doctrine by nine out of ten of our spiritual teachers, is, when the law of man conflicts with the law of God, hold to the law of man till—[CRIES—*No! no!*] [*Yes! yes!*] I hope those clergymen who say no, will say the same in their own pulpits, and I call on the men who said yes, to bear witness that there were in the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, clergymen who abjure the general clerical doctrine; and I promise to bring them evidence that it is the general doctrine of the clergy, that shall satisfy all.

J. . N BUFFUM.—I shall be able to assist my friend Clapp in that task, as far as the New England Congregationalists are concerned. I know a man who, having taken his liberty, asked Moses Stewart, of Andover, the head of that sect, in reality, for such assistance as would enable him to retain it. Professor Stewart replied, that it would be an infringement upon the Constitution, for him to give a runaway slave such aid, and therefore he refused. The leading editor of the leading Congregational periodical, the Puritan, came out with a sermon not long since, in which he called the Abolitionists, mobocrats, for maintaining it to be a duty to side with the oppressed, contrary to the provisions of the Constitution. I tell you friends, the great body of the clergy of this denomination consider the Abolitionists as nothing better than mobocrats, for the very reason that they refuse to be bound by the provisions of the Constitution for the support of Slavery.

HENRY CLAPP.—I rejoice at this sensitiveness on the part of clergymen, as to the opinion the people entertain of their pro-slavery ethics. I remember the time when it did not exist; and I hail it as a favorable symptom. I rejoice that the foul moral atmosphere is so far purified by the thunders of truth, as that men can come up here and breathe a deeper inspiration than they are permitted in their sects. But to the point. When the law of man contravenes the law of God, we are to wait for man's permission to obey the law of God. This is the clerical maxim. The Anti-Slavery maxim is, wait till man's law is, to your conscience, made clearly one with the law of God before you obey it. (Hissing.) There are some, it appears who would even hiss the law of God.

Miss KELLEY.—The General Convention of the Methodist Episcopal Church passed a law, "That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit colored persons to give testimony against white persons, in any State where they are denied that privilege by law."

A GENTLEMAN, (unknown.)—Does that lady mean to assert that *that* is the sentiment of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now?

Miss KELLEY.—I have meant to say that such was the action of the General Conference, the highest authority of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Cincinnati, in 1836, and that it stands unrepealed. Till it is repealed, every succeeding year is a confirmation of it. [A voice—I deny that.] [Another voice—time enough to doubt and deny, when it *is* repealed.]

Mr. DOUGLAS hoped there might be fewer interruptions.

Mr. CLAPP.—They are no interruptions to me. I like, if I have anything on my heart, to let it leap right out at my mouth; and I like others to have the same opportunity. If there is an iniquitous law, the clergy and the politicians say, obey it. I have asserted that to be the doctrine, and *clergymen here,* (mark that,) have denied it. We have not labored in vain with our conventions, it seems.

Another point—they support Slavery *because* it is legal. Not a man of them would stand by it, if it were not for that fact.

Now look at the position of our friend White. His heart is Anti-Slavery to the core, though his head is mistaken. Suppose a fugitive slave comes to him for shelter. (We had one here a moment since—and I see he's here now.) What would friend White say? He'd say, "If you take him, you take him over my dead body!" Garrison says the same in his way. He does all for the slave that he would do for himself. But here's the difference. Friend White is willing to promise in the first place before the contingency occurs, to return the slave safely, with military array, to keep him in Slavery if necessary. When the slaveholder finds the slave under the protection of my friend White, or, it may be, standing over him with a knife, he turns to him and says, "Sir, you're a perjurer and a traitor. You promised to stand by me in this thing, and relying on you, I sat easy in my palace, upon my cushioned seat; and now you violate your oath! I knew what to expect of Garrison—*he* never deluded me into this terrible situation, which, but for your promised support, I should never have assumed—which, but for your oath to the Constitution, self-preservation would have prompted me to quit. And I ask you how you could so swear to sustain me, and then, at my extremest need, tell me you are not to be bound by a piece of paper?"

W. A. WHITE.—I ask if this Government can go on without taxes: and if not, why it is not the same thing to sustain the Union by the payment of taxes, as by the oath to the Constitution; and if it be sinful to yield support by payment of taxes to a Government which has in it some wrong, how could Christ pay pittance to sustain the Government of Rome, which, according to this doctrine, he ought to have repudiated?

HENRY CLAPP.—I say, if Christ gave his money to support wrong, I repudiate him; but he—[Hisses and great confusion. Cries of stop him! let him say that again!] Nobody *lets me* speak! Shame on the coward spirit that dreads to hear! Away with that tyrannizing spirit that would regulate another's speech! certainly I shall repeat and conclude what I was saying. I always repeat everything that is hissed at. My friend asked me two questions. He will find that his argument means too much to serve his turn. Which does it overturn? Our right to support Slavery, or the authority of Christ? If Christ paid *willingly,* to support infamy, I repudiate him. But he did not.

ABIGAIL FOLSON read the text. "Jesus said that the *free* need pay no tribute. You, if you are the children of the kingdom, need pay no taxes.

H. CLAPP.—The other question was, is it not as wrong to pay taxes as to take an oath. I say, do neither. Shall I *voluntarily* support a slaveholding Constitution by payment of taxes? Never! I shall only suffer what wrong the iron hand of Government does to me in consequence. This argument supposes that we *must* pay taxes. I say, refuse.

But the strongest resource we have, lies in the power of truth, upon the hearts of the people. When I was told that the clergy were *for* the law of God, *against* the laws of men, I was interrupted as I was about to say that the existence of American Slavery is a proof that it is not so; for had they, as a body, preached that truth, Slavery had been at once abolished. But they have used all their tremendous influence to suppress the truth. There is not a pro-slavery priest with his little hand, and littler head, who does not exercise a greater influence for evil, than the strongest intellect in a merely political position, though the highest. Let this hindering influence of clerical pro-slavery be removed, so that the truth may go forth to the people, and Slavery is at an end.

One remark of my friend White struck my ear as not the most decidedly indicative of soundness of judgment. This dissolution idea fell, he said, still-born:—occasioned no excitement. He overlooks the ways, and the length of time in which the ground has been prepared.

You will recollect, friend White, (the Chair will excuse my apostrophising men in the house,) how this idea was received at first. It surely occasioned commotion and threatenings enough, *then,* to prove its efficacy. Now, men have recovered the first shock, and it is quietly sinking down into Northern hearts; and all Anti-Slavery hearts are receiving it gladly. It does not seem to have fallen quite dead even in this assembly; but has drawn forth some sparks of truth which else had not glistened in the audience.

I hear without, a great deal of talk as to the legality of this action on our part: but I am not accustomed to consider whether a thing is legal or illegal, so it be right, and to the point.

I have heard within here, what I was very sorry to hear said against non-resistance. All too plainly did Amasa Walker and William A. White intimate to us their contempt of principles to which we are pledged, as far as this cause is concerned, by our connection with the American Anti-Slavery Society, and on our fidelity to which, the peaceful abolition of Slavery depends.

W. A. WHITE.—I did not intend to be so understood.

HENRY CLAPP.—I take that back, then, as far as concerns him; for I know that William A. White always means to speak the truth. You bring against us the charge of inconsistency, in calling upon all men to act against Slavery, and refusing ourselves to act at the polls. *You* are the inconsistent ones. You, who are men of War, should not attempt to bring upon us the stigma of inconsistency, until you are prepared to carry out your own principles. Who are you who swear to support the Constitution with your swords, and who, if Queen Victoria do but lay one of her lily fingers upon our *Sailors'* rights, call upon us to smite her back, and annihilate her power, and yet are the men who behold the *Slaves'* rights trodden down, and do *not* call upon him to strike his master to the dust? I do not, I cannot commend to the slave any other course but that of non-resistance and forgiveness. But if, like William A. White, I believed in war, if like Amasa Walker, I were a sneerer at non-resistance, then I would call upon the slave to slay his master. I'd call upon my friends, Douglas and Remond, to be as great heroes as those we praise in past times for their resistance unto blood; and till you do it, don't call on us for consistency. If I were as you, who believe it a duty to shed the blood of those who commit deadly outrages upon human nature, I would call on you who do so believe, to cut the throats of tyrants and oppressors, especially those of the most hardened and wicked of all—the clergy of New England. Did I fight for my own rights—could I uphold anything by the sword, I should hear the voice of the Slave calling on me for bloody redress. I do not. I will not. It is neither right nor expedient. I care not what horrible array of consequences or charges of inconsistency are brought against me,

——"This rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I."

While I call upon you all to swear eternal enmity to Slavery I earnestly beseech you never, under any guise or pretence to have recourse to force and violence for its extinction. I do hope that my friend White, whose mind is still plastic as a child's to the power of right, will yet unfurl the white banner of Anti-Slavery truth, and abandon the stripes, which are so exactly emblamatical of the bloody wrongs inflicted on the slave. Bloody as the banner of our Union is, I wonder that even the winds will bear it abroad. It is time that all who love freedom had abandoned it; and I would call upon all her host to rally round a nobler standard even though I in my weakness stood alone to welcome them to its allegiance. [Applause.]

The hour of eleven, (to which, on vote of the Convention, the discussion was for the time limited by considerations of convenience,) having now arrived, Wendell Phillips rose to make the promised statement of the present posture and affairs of the American Society.

A GENTLEMAN (unknown.) I have been waiting to speak, Sir.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—After the business of the hour is despatched, Sir, there will be opportunity for further discussion.

THE GENTLEMAN, expressed a desire to speak *then,* and a doubt of the willingness of the Convention to listen to him.

Mr. PHILLIPS, and Mr. CLAPP simultaneously assured the gentleman of the readiness of the Convention to listen to all that could be said on any side of the question. "We are not only willing, Sir, but anxious to hear you, but this hour having been appropriated to business by a vote taken before discussion commenced, it will not be proper for us to do so until this business has been attended to. An hour or two will then remain before the usual time of adjournment."

Mr. PHILLIPS then spoke as follows, in explanation

of the position, the affairs, and necessities of the cause:

Mr. Phillips.—It is the intention of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society to proceed to the discharge of the duties you have laid upon them, by instituting a series of Conventions, agencies, or other Anti-Slavery efforts in as many of the States of the American Union as the means placed at their disposal will warrant.

Abigail Folson.—Don't give them a cent!

Mr. Phillips attempted to proceed, but Mrs. Folsom became too violent to admit of it, taking the Chairman's place on the platform, and then, screaming at intervals, as she walked to and from it—"Committees are of the Devil! You're all slaveholders! There are no worse slaveholders in the world than the old organized Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. Phillips.—We have come up here to-day to do a great work for the cause; and we ask of the community a great temporary sacrifice in order to secure a final and glorious result. We have asked of the slaveholder the sacrifice of property and position. The sacrifice of what he holds dearest of all things. What evidence do we give, that we are ready to sacrifice somewhat ourselves? The Abolitionist who is not himself ready to sacrifice much, with what face does he ask of the slaveholder all! If he thinks these principles of Freedom so dear that he ought to call upon the slaveholder to sacrifice his every-day operations in business life, his place in the Church, his position in the State, ought he not himself to be ready to make the same sacrifice?

The Abolitionists are not the wealthy of the land. Their adherence to their principles has, in many instances, made them poor: but I am sure the poorest, if he be worthy of the name, comes not here that he may be merely treated to three days talk upon a subject which lies ever near his heart. I call upon the Abolitionists now to say what they would have us, as their servants, to do. Say it by placing in our hands the means of service. Five thousand dollars are needed at this moment: and it will put us in a condition to stir New England—to move the nation to its very depths. Half we want in hand—the other half pledged. We cannot get on without it. We speak as to wise men, all knowing this as well as ourselves. If the Anti-Slavery cause rest on your shoulders, come up now, and assume the responsibility. Some will feel its claim on them strongest for the discharge of debts—some for carrying on future operations. Let each specify how he wishes his donations applied. I will cheerfully surrender the platform to any who wish to make pledges or donations, and to second their example with their exhortation.

Abigail Folson, who had during these remarks continually endeavored to interrupt the speaker, now occupied some minutes in reproaches against the Abolitionists for carrying on the cause through the means of money, the effect being to degrade, and to enslave themselves.

Charles Remond spoke of the present thronged and deeply interested meeting, as a proof of the value of the Conventions of last year. He saw here the same faces that he had met in New-York, and in all parts of New-England, all glowing with the feelings which this appeal called up. So holy a cause—one so deep laid in the very foundations of human existence—so interesting a moment—one which honored, waiting for our co-operation to propel that cause with unexampled speed and success—how could we fail in our duty to the cause and to the hour! He had yet to learn that the eyes of the slaves of this country had ever turned with a hope so strong, an interest so intense, toward the movements of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as at this hour. He had yet to learn that the movements it proposes and has commenced, were unnoted by the people at large. Wherever he went, (and his pilgrimages have been far and wide,) he found the intensest interest attending on Anti-Slavery discussion.

He appealed to the audience, as composed of persons from all parts of the country, to say whether, interesting as this meeting had been, the meetings of the Hundred Conventions had not, each and all, been instinct with the same spirit—whether they did not completely extinguish the deceitful misrepresentations of those whose interest it was to say that Anti-Slavery, as originally organized, had died out, and that only Liberty Party and Non-Resistance occupied the field. We had been able successfully to meet, and to extinguish that slander. We had visited towns where Anti-Slavery was dead under the blighting influence of party. He would only point to Buffalo, for one: how was it there now. Should notice be given there that those he saw before him were to address the people there, no place would be large enough to hold all who would throng to hear. The rights of the free men of color were beginning to be recognized there. In Maine, too, there was an advance in Anti-Slavery sentiment. Here we hear of a man of color called to the bar—there, of one elected member of a Literary Society. In my own native town of Salem, the little miserable school-house, to which the children of our people were driven like pariahs apart, and crowded in, in a swampy spot, and surrounded with inconveniences—it has been abolished by the progress of public opinion, and the advantages of general education thrown open to our youth. I see a throng of faces, new in a Boston audience, Mr. Chairman—the fruit of the Hundred Conventions, and I see also multitudes whom I never saw before in an Anti-Slavery meeting, sitting here with us session after session, responding to the same sentiments with which our own hearts thrill with delight—acknowledging the same principles, and advocating the same measures. When I look around me, I thank God, and take courage. Since this meeting commenced, I have been called upon by one dozen of persons—(I was obliged to inquire their names,) who earnestly entreated me to come to their respective towns to preach to their neighbors and their friends, the truths they had here listened to, themselves. Talk about sacrifices! have we ever made even the slighest, which did not kindle up a fresh spirit for the maintenance of the cause. Ten months ago, I thought to have left my native land forever, in the extremity of my despair. I could not enter the cars to come to Boston without being required to take a separate seat, and I observed that great indignation awaited the entrance of every man of color who did not creep into *that* as if he had been stealing sheep. I was about to depart with that feeling of despair, which is the curse of any country whose children it drives away from their place of birth. But it is ever darkest just before the dawn; and I rejoice that I have made that sacrifice of personal feeling to the hope of future usefulness to the land of my birth, of which the events of the last few months, are to my mind the earnest.

Mr. Davis, of Raynham, Massachusetts.—I am but young in the cause, my friends, but young as I am, I am able to testify to the weight of your prejudices, your political institutions, and your religious institutions upon the man of color. My grandfather fought in the revolution by the side of your fathers; but the blessings he helped them to secure they have held exclusively for their own posterity. Your pro-slavery Constitution, and your pro-slavery preaching lie heavy upon us. We are degraded in the dust and accounted base in your eyes. Why should that be? My grandfather was a King in Africa, and bore the mark of his rank upon his forehead. I am of that blood which you would respect in any race but mine. But being what I am, I am only fit to be enslaved. But what would you say, if young Bob Tyler should be made a slave! Why the people would all go into mourning. "Our President's son is stolen—our President's son is stolen," would be the cry from one end of the Union to the other! (*Repeated rounds of applause.*) I do not know that it would be well for me to say much more. Men who are classed with beasts, cannot obtain much qualification for addressing audiences of men. (Applause.)

Miss Kelley hoped that the work of raising the requisite funds, which she saw going so briskly on, might not be interrupted by what she was going to say. She doubted not it would be furthered by what she uttered, for she rose to congratulate the Abolitionists upon their choice of servants for the year. They had selected those who had the heart and the head to serve the cause—those who had originated, and sustained it up to this hour—those who had stood true in six trials of their fidelity, yea, and the seventh. These are they who have themselves held back nothing from the cause, and when they call on us for help to fulfil your own instructions—to sustain the very burden yourselves have laid upon them, will you not joyfully and exultingly come up to the help? Shall we put burdens upon them which ourselves will not touch with one of our fingers? How freely is money poured out when men hope to link their own interests to the Anti-Slavery car! how readily would the people all respond to the call of the cause, were they not deluded into hoping that some other association or society, (which is constantly assuring them all the while it has nothing to do with the question,) will do great things for the slave. Slavery is indeed the old Serpent, in its wily faculty of deceit. As soon as the cause began to rise in sight, and call forth sympathy and help, the priests and politicians began to sponge it up. They ever use the people for their own interests. The demagogue thrusts in his hand, and the Anti-Slavery coffers are left unfilled. A few years ago money was poured out like water by Abolitionists to build up a new sect, in the hope of doing something thereby for the cause. What did it do? Why, it issued certificates of ministerial fitness to pro-slavery priests. So with the Liberty Party. That stretches forth its greedy hand, and uplifts its deceitful voice to rob the cause and vilify its advocates. Then there is the fallacious idea of manumitting single slaves by the very labors and expenditures that, judiciously applied, would abolish the system; and which, *thus* applied, do but shift the load of Slavery to another shoulder. I was struck with the immediate flushing up of benevolent feeling in the face of Dr. Channing, yesterday. He would give ten dollars to aid the Convention in restoring one infant to its parent. Oh, Sirs! how much will you give to abolish the system that has seized on the hundred infants born since he said that yesterday! We ask not for money to redeem them alone—not for money to buy men from the commission of crime—not for money to be quoted hereafter as a precedent for the maintenance of a right of property in man:—No—we ask for money to set in motion the means of changing the heart—of regenerating the soul—of giving Liberty to millions and millions yet unborn! (*Cheers.*) How much has this cause, so holy and so magnificent in its source and tendencies, already done for America! It keeps alive the flame of noble devotion in a country where it was dying amid the struggles of party, and the triumphs of cupidity. (*Cheers.*) The nation has dwelt in darkness till it is blinded by the light, and our own eyes too were dim, till the light of these principles of Freedom streamed in upon them.

I will not go into an argument now, as to the inefficacy of spending ourselves in buying each single slave that reaches our doors to make the claim—I will not dwell upon the worse than inexpediency, the mischief of helping the Slaveholder to exchange his live stock on reasonable terms, or encouraging him to raise slaves for the northern markets of philanthropy. This Convention understand all that matter. I will rather call upon you to be, to-day, the thing you praise, and love as you behold it in the past. Do we pour out our souls in fervent admiration of the devotedness of Lafayette, who left his young wife and high estate in France, to battle for the rights of three millions of the vassals of the British throne? Do our hearts swell high in our bosoms as we think of the mighty dead, who have met danger, and trial, and suffering, in field and blood, for some high principle of freedom? What, then, are *We* called upon to do by the voice of our own hearts? Shall these have lived and died in vain, leaving our *lives* unkindled by the high example that fails not to touch our souls? It cannot be! Every great deed has a prophecy in it: and what we do in our day for the redemption of the three millions in whose behalf we stand, shall shed its light on other days and generations. Let not their freedom come through a red-sea of guilt and blood, but be not only the deliverers of a people, but the Saviours also of a nation. Look at this cause in all its grandeur and its glory! is it not an altar worthy of the richest gift? I would, when I look upon it, that I possessed some great thing to sacrifice. I would I were a Wendell Phillips, or a Hutchinson, that I might pour out that rich gift of eloquence and song! Now, men cannot discern the beauty and the might of the life they *might* live for this cause. We cannot appreciate it. Our children will see what we might have done, even as we see how our fathers might have filled up the measure of their lofty deeds. Could we appreciate the opportunity we have, we should be willing, nay, exultant martyrs for our cause! and shall we *not* be willing? I feel now how mean we were to ask for five thousand dollars. Oh, for the descent of that spirit which in olden time has swept a land, making the people feel the gift of life all too little for the glorious cause they stood to die for! These slaves of my country—these bondsmen of the Union—they are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh! Could we but feel their situation—could we but see their misery—could we but look on all things as they really are, this five thousand dollars would seem an offering all too mean. I don't come to you niggardly—I don't come to you entreatingly. I bid you look at the great cause, and give wealth—soul—voice—life, and all! [*Enthusiastic applause.*]

I am not extravagant. I identify myself with the outraged cause of Freedom, and with the people who are made to drink the bitterness of Slavery; and I cannot ask less. I know that we shall be made to drink deeply of human contempt:—that what is called honor in our day and generation, must not be for us. But I know that what is called honor is in reality a disgrace in all time to come. I know that friends like Dr. Channing, well disposed towards our cause feel as if we were a hissing and a by-word to the people—they tell us so, and urge it on us as a motive to desist in our onward course. God grant we may be willing to be a hissing. When principle calls, it is of the smallest moment how much contempt its call awakens. [Voice in the Crowd—*One hundred dollars.*] Yes—commence the work. I have but little myself to give, but I give it all. [*Two hundred dollars.*] How much would you feel impelled to give, were it a case personal to each of your families, and your private afflictions? This great public duty prefers as high a claim. [*One hundred dollars.*] Let this feeling of duty to our race, pervade every heart.

COME-OUTISM, AN ABSURDITY.

Messrs. Editors:—With your permission, I will offer a few reasons to prove this.

I take it for granted, in the first place, that there are such things as absurdities: things that the common sense of mankind will pronounce at once absurd. For instance, if I say it is the duty of certain persons to start this moment for some foreign country, and yet that it is *not* their duty, I say what is palpably absurd; for it is evident, that to go and to stay, cannot both be duties. I shall also take it for granted, that any principal of action which logically leads, when carried out to its final consequences, to an absurdity, cannot be a true, but must necessarily be a false principle.

Now, what is the principle upon which is established what has been named "Come-outism"? It is this: That we are bound to withdraw from all political, religious, or social connection with wrong-doers, and those that uphold wrong-doers. Why? 1. It is sinful to be and aider an abettor of sin. 2. But by remaining in connection with sinners, or with those who aid and abet sinners, we necessarily are ourselves aiders and abettors of sin. 3. Therefore such connection is sinful.

Now, waiving for the time our inquiry into the truth of this reasoning, let us carry out the principle established by it, and see where it will lead to. Let us apply it as Abolitionists, and in the order in which it has been actually applied. First, we are members of political parties. Those parties are not Anti-Slavery; therefore, in common parlance, Pro-Slavery. They uphold Slavery; and as we, by being connected with them, uphold them, consequently, so runs the logic, *we* uphold Slavery. Therefore, we must leave the parties. And resolutions were accordingly passed at the several meetings of the American Society, and its auxiliaries, *denouncing* those who would not abandon their parties. Some few, looking forward and seeing where the principle was going to lead, held back; but the great mass, seeing no further than the step which they were then called upon to take, pressed on.

This step taken, it began to be loudly muttered that the Church was also pro-slavery, and if the great principle which had been adopted was sound in relation to the parties, it was equally so in relation to the churches. The Anti-Slavery host must either go on to denounce those who were in fellowship with the Church, or retrace the step it had taken. But false as well as true, French as well as American revolutions, seldom move backward. If they start wrong, or lose the right road in their progress, they seldom retrace their steps. They go on, getting further and further involved, until they strike full against some tremendous absurdity, or falsehood, and are scattered to the winds by stern and impartial nature, because they have been blinded by spiritual pride, or selfishness, to her laws. In obedience to this great law of progress, the Anti-Slavery host rushed on, assaulting the churches as it had done the parties, and branding as traitors to the cause those who would not abandon their sects. It mattered not that the pure and gifted minds of a Mott, and a Whittier, still saw in their respective branches of the good old Quaker tree, a fruit-bearing power too vital to admit of their being cut down and cast into the fire: it mattered not that hundreds of others who had borne the burden and heat of the day of persecution, still saw in their fathers' religious creeds, a word of power sufficient to save and heal; all this mattered not to men who were filled with a new idea, as with new wine, and mistook the hot zeal of fanaticism, for the fervor of religious faith.

Parties, and the Church, having thus been put under the ban, some began to hope that the slave and his miseries, the slaveholder and his miseries, would once more become the great object before the vision of the Society. But revolutions seldom go backward—each hope was vain. If by connection with parties and churches, its members had been upholding Slavery, how much more so were they not still doing it by connection with the Union. If the principle which had led them out of the first was true, and it was treason to deny it, were they not also bound to apply it to the latter? Did not the Constitution uphold Slavery by its commands relative to fugitive slaves, by its establishment of slave representation; and, even if it were not so, was not the Government, *apart from the Constitution*, equally pro-slavery with the parties and the churches. But here many began to cry out that they saw breakers ahead, and the great rock of absurdity stretching through the mist before them, against which, if they did not alter their course, they must *inevitably* dash. But the larger number cried out: "Was it not right to come out of the sects and parties?" "Oh, yes, that was right." "Then, you fools, hush your clamor—we are but carrying out the principle."

We have thus seen the operations of this principle as applied to sects and parties, and *partly*, to the Union. But is it to stop here? No, assuredly. It can no more stop here than at any previous part of its course. Let us now carry it out still further, and see where it will yet lead those that adhere to it. It will be noticed, that the Union has as yet only been partially come out of. They must refuse to pay taxes, because to contribute their money to its support is upholding it in the strongest way. Inasmuch as taxes are generally collected by duties on imports, they must refuse to purchase any imported article into whose price the duty, or tax, necessarily enters. They must not pay State taxes, or vote for State officers; for the States uphold the Federal Government, and to uphold the first, is, consequently, to uphold the latter. Moreover, the State Governments are of themselves as pro-slavery, generally, as the parties and the churches. They are in a union with slaveholding States, just as Northern churches are in a union with slaveholding churches. They are generally equally pro-slavery in their character; and though there is a great probability of making both States and churches better, by remaining in them, you are bound to come out of both. For this reason, then, also, must you refuse to pay State taxes. But if it is wrong to pay taxes upon farms, &c. it is also wrong to buy the productions of those farms; for into the price of those productions, the tax enters. If by abstaining in this way you starve, you will have the satisfaction of having carried out the principle to the uttermost.

But if you do not wish to carry out the principle this far, you are bound at least to leave the country. A consistent "come-outer" must be a *go-outer*. You say it is the weight of the Northern States that keeps the slaves in subjection. Well, then, if there were no Northern States, the slaves would *not* be kept in slavery. If there were no inhabitants, there would be no Northern States. If there were only half the inhabitants, the weight would only be half so heavy. You, by remaining in the country, are adding to that weight.

Therefore, as by remaining in the country, you are adding to the weight which keeps the slaves in subjection; as, if you pay taxes, or rent houses and lands, or buy the productions of the country, or of foreign countries, upon which a tax or tariff is laid, you are supporting one principal, and various subordinate pro-slavery Governments; as you are adding the respectability of your character, if nothing more, to this pro-slavery people, and, so far, upholding them; as, in fact, you are connected with the Government and Slavery, in innumerable ways, which connection can only be severed by leaving the country, you are bound to do so.

But where will you go? Where shall *such* righteousness find rest for the sole of its foot? Where will it find a country where the Government is not thus connected with the people, where one man is not thus bound to another? Where will it find a Government and a people, against whom the charge cannot be made, that they sustain some heinous wrong? Where will it find a place where no government exists? If it takes the wings of the morning, and flies to the uttermost parts of the earth, it will still find extended over it the strong arm of human power. It can do nothing else than turn in bitterness upon its Creator, and upbraiding Him for having sent it into a world where it could not exist without coming in contact with wickedness, lie down and die!

Having thus, I think, proved that the principle of "Come-outism" leads to an absurdity, and is therefore false, let us endeavor to ascertain where that falsehood lies. We have seen that the principle is the result of a course of reasoning given at the commencement of this article. The second proposition was: "That by remaining in connection with sinners, or with those who aid and abet sinners, we necessarily are ourselves aiders and abettors of sin." This I contend is false.

In determining upon the right or wrong of an action, we must not take it up simply, unconnected with its motive, or surrounding circumstances; but we must view it in connection with the motives that prompt, and the circumstances that surround it. For instance: in a case where property has been taken *with* its owner's knowledge, but *against* his consent—we do not, if we are reasonable men, quote the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," and condemn the perpetrator at once, as a wrong-doer. The unlawfulness of the action, as a simple action, throws the burden of proof upon him, to show that the peculiar circumstances of the case justified it; but if he can prove that he was starving, and took no more than was sufficient to appease his hunger, I apprehend that he would be held guiltless by both man and God.

In a similar way we must judge of the rightfulness of being connected with associations, or Governments, that in some respects sanction what is wrong. In the case before us, of the connection of Abolitionists with the Government of the United States, the question to be decided, is, whether, upon the whole, taking *all* the consequences of that connection into view, it strengthens or weakens the grasp of the master upon his slave, accelerates, or retards the abolition of Slavery. The answer which every man makes to this question, should determine for him what course he is bound to pursue. Such a question should each one also present to himself, relative to the political parties and religious sects, whether, upon the whole, his influence as a member of that party or sect, tends to the abolition of Slavery.

Now, in relation to voting, it is said, "That members of Congress and other officers, have to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and inasmuch as that Constitution contains an article providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves, that no Abolitionist could consistently swear to support it, and therefore can vote for no one who is required to take that oath." Now, whether an Abolitionist could consistently swear to support a Constitution containing such a provision, depends, in my opinion, upon whether his situation, as an Abolition member of Congress, tends to the liberty or continued bondage of the slave. I take it, that to return a fugitive slave, is wrong *only so far* as it is a wrong done to the slave. If the slave does not complain of my having a hand in his return, under the circumstances, knowing that the same station which compels me to it, also gives me greater power to work out his liberation, no one else has a right to complain. Now, what the slaves, in their ignorance, really do wish we cannot know. But it is sufficient, I suppose, that we adhere to the gospel rule of "doing unto others as we would have them do unto us." That is, that we must act towards the slaves in the same way that, if we were slaves, with our present knowledge of what is right and politic, we would be done by. Now, for my own part, I can conscientiously say that, if I were a slave, with my present knowledge and belief, I should rejoice to see Abolitionist after Abolitionist filing into the Congress of the United States. I should have some hopes then that Slavery in the District of Columbia and Territories, and the internal Slave-Trade between the States, would be abolished. I should like to see them, in preference to any other men, taking the oath to send me back to bondage if I escaped, because I should then feel that the laws made in pursuance of that article of the Constitution, would grant no more to the spirit of Slavery than the bond absolutely prescribed. I should even like to see them in the Judge's seat, if I happened to be arrested in making my escape through the North, or if a kidnapper was discovered and brought to the bar of justice, for I should be convinced that the laws would be construed in all disputed points in favor of liberty and justice. While, on the contrary, if I was to learn that in proportion as a man became my friend, he felt bound to retire from those positions where he could most effectually serve me, I should be filled with sorrow and alarm.

Take a case somewhat similar. Suppose a man who feared not for his life, were to set out to preach repentance and Abolition in the Southern States. Would you say that he was doing wrong in going, because he would have to subsist upon the unpaid toil of the Slave, and in this manner become a partner, even with Anti-Slavery on his lips, in the Slaveholder's guilt? I should not say so. I should not taunt him with doing evil that good might come. I should say, "Go on—you are doing to the slave as you would be done by. Most cheerfully would you in their place see the fruits of your unpaid toil subsisting him who had come to open a road for Freedom." Determine all these absurd issues, raised by this narrow, sectarian spirit of "Come-outism," by that rule which was good enough for Jesus and his Apostles to walk by. "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," and you will find no difficulty in guiding your steps aright:—you will not be perpetually running into absurdities; you will not at last run into the crowning absurdity, that it is wrong to remain in this country, and wrong to go anywhere else, wrong to live any longer, and wrong to take your own life.

I had thought of adding somewhat more; of showing the similarity between "Come-outism," and that pharisaical spirit of "keeping clear of the mixture," which Abolitionists have so much denounced in the Society of Friends; but I fear I have already said too much for the patience of the editors of the Standard. O.

Philadelphia, 1844.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM ABBY KELLEY.

Durham, N. H. July 17, 1844.

I intended to write you many days ago, but time has hastened by so rapidly, that I have not had the skill to catch a moment for the purpose, and now I am in great haste, and so take this method of saying to my friends in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New-York, and Vermont, that I shall not be able to visit their respective places during the present summer or autumn. I feel it important that more labor be bestowed on New-Hampshire. It has been much neglected by our agents for some two years past, and that insidious foe, Liberty Party, is making dreadful inroads in the neglected field. It is on this account, mainly, that I stop here, and not to keep the Herald afloat, for I have the pleasure of announcing, to the joy of its friends and the terror of its foes, that its subscription list is *now* and *has been since August last*, equal to sustain its publication, and has sustained it. The old debts ought to be paid promptly in order to relieve J. R. French, its former publisher. It is now published by the Executive Committee of the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, and French prints it—but yet let us all be unremitting in our exertions to extend the circulation of the undaunted sheet. Its subscription should be such as to afford a good support to its Editor who has given so much invaluable talent and soul to the cause so freely and joyously—but yet it is not on this account mainly that I would wish to see the subscription of the Herald enlarged. Its Editor's compensation consists in seeing its blows tell on community. He can prize no other, and yet he should not be forgotten, though he chooses to forget himself, and when a Fair is proposed to sustain him, he seconds the proposition to have its proceeds appropriated to some other object. Let us be careful that we do not consider the Herald a New-Hampshire affair. It is the Herald of the advancing Anti-Slavery hosts extending from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, and let the hosts keep eye upon it, though so far outstrip them that they can hardly catch a glimpse of it, bearing straight onward in a tempest that would rend any other banner to tatters. Let them see to it that he who held it up so marvelously, be not lacking in his supplies for "canteen" and knapsack.

From what I have observed among New Hampshire granite-hills, Anti-Slavery is manufactured by the severest process of drilling and blowing. 'Tis hard to get it out and hewn into shape, but the work once done, it needs never to be done over again. The multitudes shout not for Anti-Slavery to-day and then for Slavery to-morrow. They are "*out and out*" against it. The lines are more distinctly drawn than in any other State. The war goes on bravely, for everybody knows friend from foe.

'Tis a favorable place to labor during a strong political excitement, as the two great parties are so unequal, that there cannot be that rivalry and jealousy which, in many other places, where the parties stand nearly equal, so much annoys and hinder the preacher of moral truth.

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Truly for the cause,

ABBY KELLEY.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 1, 1844.

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

EDWARD S. ABDY.

Journal of a residence and tour in the United States of America, from April, 1833, to October, 1834. By E. S. Abdy, Fellow of James College, Cambridge: 3 vols. 8vo.

It will be most gratefully recollected by some who were Abolitionists in the early days of the cause in the United States, that they were cheered and strengthened at a very difficult and distressing period by the ready sympathy, clear sight, and sound judgment of the gentleman whose name stands at the head of this article. Mr. May in particular had the happiness to know much of him, and found him to be a highly educated and accomplished gentleman, not only in the English sense of the word, which means a member of some so-called "good family," but in the universal sense in which it signifies the highest style of man.

To the early Abolitionists, Mr. Abdy needs no introduction, and that ceremony ought to have been superfluous to any American; for, in addition to his noble testimony to right and truth while in this country, he gave the public on his return to his own, a work of very great value to the Christian, the philosopher and the philanthrophist; remarkable alike for its depth of thought, kindness of feeling, and keenness and accuracy of observation, as well as for a true simplicity of style, which makes the English tongue seem not inferior to the Latin in finish, force and brevity.

This literary excellence alone would have secured it an immediate republication, had it not been condemned by its other excellencies at the bar of the booksellers. The Harpers, after having announced its appearance, were bullied by the South into a withdrawal, and this was all that the Abolitionists in general ever knew of the work. Two or three copies only reached the United States.

It is my purpose to select from time to time for the columns of the Standard, some of the striking passages of this valuable work.

Very few are the travellers who have dared to walk erect through the United States, saying the same things while in the country that they mean to say after their return. Very few persons have any just sense of their duties as citizens of the world. Travellers from Great Britain come hither to receive the adulation which "the land without a literature" is ever ready to give to the literati of other lands;—or to strengthen the bonds of sect at the expense of the ties of humanity;—or to find confirmation for their preconceived opinions;—or to cite the evil consequences, of our inconsistencies as the natural fruit of our institutions; or to collect funds for one good object at the sacrifice of another. But Mr. Abdy is none of these. He is equally removed from the Cox and Holey, and the Read and Matherson school, and the school of the Fiddlers and Featherstonhaughs. He is not of the genus Dickens, nor the genus J. J. Gurney and Joseph Sturge; nor yet of the genus Burns and Cunningham. He is, indeed, almost *sui generis* in his fidelity to humanity.

The extracts on the fourth page, exhibit an order of mind to which every philanthropic reader who possesses sense in proportion to his sensibility, will yield involuntary respect. This, will such a one say as he reads, is not mere literature—it is life.

The writings of such a man, one who, enjoying a high social position in his own country, was ready to forego every flattering attention in ours, which the sacrifice of right to vulgar expediency would have ensured him;—one so highly qualified by nature, and education, and situation, to observe with accuracy, and record with impartiality, are no less valuable with regard to events in England than in America: and it is to be hoped that the readers of the Standard may hear often from Mr. Abdy in future.

A very interesting letter just received from him, the reader will find below. It well exposes pretence and sycophancy, both in Americans and English men, and will not fail to receive an extensive and careful perusal.—c.

LETTER OF MR. ABDY.

University Club, Pall Mall, East London, May 24, 1844.

My Dear Mrs. Chapman:—When I tell you that your friendly letter, with the literary treasures that accompanied it, did not reach me till within the last few weeks, you will neither be surprised at my silence, nor require an apology for my apparent discourtesy. I know so little (beyond what I hear from occasional visitors) of the progress the good cause your heart and hand are engaged in, is making, that I am but too happy to receive information from a source which is able to double the interest attached to a subject of such importance. I will not attempt to express what I feel towards the noble band of Abolitionists in your country. Praise is least desired by those who most deserve it, and to offer it would be presumption, where to refuse it would be injustice.

My work on America was sent to Garrison, with the copyright; but, as I never heard from him, I concluded that neither had reached him. Another copy was sent to Mrs. Child; and, if I mistake not, her husband told me he had read it. I met him at Paris, and gave him a copy of an answer I had published in a Paris paper, to a defence of his countrymen, from the charge of slaveholding, by Mr. Baird, or Mr. Beard. Whether Mr. Child procured its insertion in any of your Abolition papers I know not. Mr. B. or some of his friends threatened a rejoinder—but if I mistake not, further controversy was avoided. With respect to the republication of my "Journal." Harper advertised, but withdrew his resolution of paying it that honor, fearful of offending the Southerners, who had written to him on the subject. His answer to one of them, appeared at the time. Perhaps you could procure it for me, as some one may have preserved it as a specimen of the freedom which characterizes the American press. A few words in the Liberator might bring it out from its present obscurity. Dr. Julius informed me, some years ago, that he had seen a copy of my work at the Boston Athenæum. The Doctor, you are probably aware, was commissioned, about ten years back, to inspect your prisons. On his return to Germany, he published a very elaborate work on the moral and social condition of the United States. As the author is very severe in his remarks on the treatment the blacks receive from the majority of your fellow-citizens, I take it for granted that no translation has ever made its appearance among them. It is written with great minuteness and impartiality; and, though the style is heavy, and the matter somewhat too diffuse, its contents will be found extremely valuable to the historian and the philosopher. Von Raumer is, I believe, taking notes among you at this moment. It would be as well if some of your friends would guard him against the misrepresentations which will certainly be practised by those who dread exposure. I was anxious that this should be done in the case of Dickens, and suggested in vain several times, that a note to that effect should be inserted in the Anti-Slavery Reporter. At last a few lines, with my initials, were honored with admission. I might have spared myself so much trouble: for Mr. Scoble, I found by mere accident, had taken the hint and written privately to Joshua Leavitt.

You should know that we have a sort of censorship here, and whatever displeases its directors is mutilated or suppressed. George Thomson alluded to this when he spoke in Exeter Hall on the sugar duties, all discussion upon which was refused by those who are paid by the Abolition Society to elicit those truths which nothing but discussion can impress on the minds of men totally ignorant of the principles on which a sound conclusion is to be arrived at. The same specimen of liberality in this tribunal has forever determined me to risk no repetition of the humiliation. A few communications to the Reporter some time ago, from Germany were duly "licensed"—an exception, however, was made in the case of an extract I had translated from a letter by a German to the Allgmeine Zeitung, in reference to a meeting he had been present at, of the Malta Anti-Slavery Society. He had been not a little astonished on hearing one of its members declare that emancipation was obligatory upon Christians, but not upon Mahometans, as *their* prophet had permitted, and their religion enjoined Slavery. The writer had in vain protested against this distinction. I thought it right that publicity should be given to a circumstance so highly discreditable to the narrator or to the Society—that an opportunity should be afforded of refuting or of proving the accusation, and that misplaced confidence should be withdrawn, either by the journal in question, from its correspondent, or by our Society from its sister institution. I will just add, that the note to Arthur Tappan, appended to the pamphlet I send you,* was declined with this considerate notice, (I quote from memory,) "Mr. Abdy's letter &c. does not *suit our columns*," and that a promise given to expose the French African Institute, which, according to Mr. Scoble, has drawn £300 from the pockets of English dupes, has, if I do not greatly err, never been redeemed—and I leave you to judge whether zeal or discretion, would decide an honest man's correspondence with the office in New Broad street. My publisher complained that the Abolitionists had not encouraged our joint production. That the Quakers were displeased with what had been said of their American brethren is no secret; and the last "Convention" showed pretty plainly that they are still unwilling to let truth be known. The ready acquiescence displayed on that occasion, in the singular request to lay aside the character of impartial judges, will, however, avail but little at that tribunal, before which Moravians and Quakers must one day render an account of their conduct toward beings of greater merit, because of less pretension, than their own. That I have calumniated neither may be proved by reference to Shillitoe's Journal in America, where it will be seen that a man, admitted to be qualified in every other respect, was refused admittance to communion by the Quakers, because he wore, as they did, the same skin he was born with; and where we find this missionary of kindness remonstrating with the slaveholding Moravians of North Carolina. These facts, and others of similar import must have been well known at the very time that one of the Society of Friends requested the convened delegates and the meeting to suspend their judgment on what this solemn adjuration would seem to brand with the mark of calumny—while the King of Denmark was reported to have coerced the Moravians—as, if they who cannot be compelled to take an oath or serve in the army, could be compelled to rob their fellow-men of the only property they possess—or, as if the same plea might not be, and has not been, set up by other slaveholders. Wm. Penn would have courted inquiry from an enemy—his followers dread it from their friends. What is such a "world's Convention," but a solemn farce—a packed jury of compromising cosmopolites; condemning the untried and reprieving the convicted—returning verdicts to please the audience, and accepting excuses to please the judges. This matter had been brought under the notice of Joshua Leavitt, both by letter, and in conversation; he had been urged to speak as unreservedly in England, as in America, on everything that related to the disabilities and afflictions of the African race; he had been cautioned in the presence of Phelps and Buffum, (who showed afterwards that *he* stood in no need of external stimulus,) against the manœuvres which awaited him: and I cannot but deeply regret that any friend of the black man, should have exhibited a spirit of forbearance and concession as little minded by those who asked for it, as by those who are to suffer from it. A letter on this subject was printed in the Bath Journal, the Bath and Chiltenham Gazette; the organ of the Quakers and other dissenters, having declined it on the plea of its being too late, after they had delayed the notice long beyond the day they had agreed to insert it—probably on the same ground that the Reporter had for a long time kept the matter, "under consideration."

It may perhaps be said in palliation of Quaker proceedings in Philadelphia, that it would have been too great a temptation for the virtue of a "nigger," to be suddenly admitted to the privilege of hiding his vanity under the garb of humility—that a despised Pariah is not prepared to put himself upon an equal footing with Princes and Rulers, and that it would be dangerous for his feeble senses to attract attention, by assuming what was formerly intended to repel it, and that it would be unnecessary to place an uneducated outlaw above the observance of grammar and the graces. Whatever the motive, however, or the result of the exclusion—whether the taboo of the high priest inflicted or reflected more dishonor, I may be pardoned for wishing that the Convention of colored Americans would depute to the next "Cosmopolite Congress," some worthy representative of their firmness—one who will be true to his mission—uninfluenced alike by fear and by favor—resolved that the grievances of his race shall be proclaimed to the world—though he may have stretched his plebeian legs under the table of a high-caste Quaker, and dined with one of the commercial aristocracy.

We manage matters of general import rather indiscreetly in this land of liberty. The remedies of old diseases are often the causes of new, and the removal of abuses, is a signal for the renewal of complaints. Hence we have schisms among reformers, and selfishness among philanthropists. Humane associations, like religious establishments, degenerate into instruments of private vanity or interest, and those who undertake to cure our infirmities, take good care to remind us of their own. Unhappily for the good cause, some who were willing to save the Abolitionists the trouble of thinking for themselves, have set an equivocal example of compromise with the Government, too profitable to be altogether lost on their successors. It is too much for an Englishman to see himself gazetted as holding conference with one of her Majesty's ministers, to risk a repetition of the gratification, by an unbending advocacy of what may give offence to the dispenser of such honors; and the bestowal of titles and judicial appointments on the prominent leaders of a popular agitation, has a tendency to merge the love of one's neighbor in the love of one's self. There seemed at last year's Convention to be a rivalry of adulation among the political parties of the day. Lord Palmerston's influence with the Bey of Tunis, was set off against Lord Aberdeen's, with the President of Texas; and the Whig humanity in the old world was pitted against the Tory humanity in the new. No one had any more doubt of the sincerity attached to these Cabinet-professions, than he had of the African Chief's independence

* This pamphlet has not been received. E.

of the Sultan and the French Court, or of Houston's liberty of action between a Free State on one side, and Slave States on the other. No one asked whether prospective freedom was right in Africa and wrong in America—whether immediate emancipation could be consistently demanded in one part of the world, and gradual emancipation be received with thanks in another. Not a voice was raised in behalf of an unoffending ally, despoiled of her most valuable province—nor did one of the opponents to a separate legislation in oppressed Ireland, hint an objection to the usurpation of every political function by the voluntary subjects of a transatlantic empire. Yet it required no great sagacity to see that the recognition of this new State had done more to injure the cause for which the Convention had assembled, than the English government had ever done in its favor. Texas must, by the process of assimilation, be incorporated with one of its neighbors. The attraction of free blacks, and the attraction of slaves cannot neutralize each other. It must conquer or be conquered. If but a slight acquaintance with the peculiarities of your system had existed where it was both needed and expected, would our Government have been permitted to acknowledge a state of things which had been brought about for the express purpose of supporting what they professed to abominate? Was it not evident to every inquirer, that your planters sought in Texas a security for their private property, and an increase to their federal prerogatives;—that the revolted province could neither keep a promise of emancipation, without offending the people it had left, nor break it, without attacking the people it had betrayed: and that the maintenance of its separate establishment was equally incompatible with its strength and its weakness? Was it not well known, that one, if not more, of the proprietors of a paper in the confidence of the Whigs, had an interest in deceiving the public, proportioned to the lands he possessed in the disputed territory? Were there not agents employed in promoting German emigration to Texas by every art of misrepresentation—the same persons preaching liberty in Europe, and slavery in America? Who could doubt that the fear of losing Canada operated more strongly in Downing Street, than the wish to save Mexico, and that the concession of neutrality in the East, was purchased by the permission of aggression in the West? To believe in Whig sincerity on these points, evinces little experience and less sagacity. Why does the Morning Chronicle deprecate interference with the Americans, and the Edinburgh Review exhibit such indifference to American abolition? Why has Macauley, who owes all he has, and all he is, to abolition, keep aloof from the Abolitionists? Why does Lord Morpeth take the chair at meetings for universal emancipation, and yet recommend that American emancipation should be left to itself? Has not every statesman of every party endeavored to make a tool of those who assume to direct public opinion and control the Government? Think for a moment what a combination of mighty interests is arrayed here against an agitation which threatens them with the loss, or the interruption of their resources? The English manufacturer cares less for the tears of the negro, than for the rise of prices in the cotton market;—he sees insurrection in an abolition pamphlet, and waits with philosophic composure till supplies from free labor will enable him to be humane without any risk, and generous without any sacrifice. All such considerations, and others that might be mentioned, will effect you no farther than to instil caution, and prepare you for coldness or opposition. The co-operation of legislators may be bought too dearly. They follow their trade; you follow your duty; they obey their masters; you obey your conscience. They work for themselves; you work for others. The labor and the honor may be fairly divided between you—and Justice will have no reason to envy Expediency.

Though my pen has run on beyond my purposes, and far beyond the limits of moderation, yet I venture to trespass still farther upon your patience.

We cannot, I am ashamed to say, claim exemption from the prejudice of color. Wilberforce, I was told by Miss Macauley, was heard to declare that he should not feel at his ease if at table with a negro:—and de Beaumont, when asked why Bissetta was not a member of the Committee of the French Abolition Society, replied—"Why! he is a colored man." Here we have a religious man, and a liberal expressing sentiments opposed to every rational idea of what we owe to God and to humanity. Thus it is that Benevolence is employed to foster Pride.—We humiliate while we relieve, and claim superiority of nature for mere superiority of fortune. It really seems as if many considered an African and a bullock as entitled to the same sort of sympathy, and subscribed to the anti-slavery Society, as they subscribe for the prevention of cruelty to animals. I infer, from the remarks of L'Instant (the Haytien) on this subject, that these strictures may be applied to some who have taken an active part in the cause of Abolition among us; and perhaps the skin-proud "Friends" in the "City of Love" may look for a defence of their "shortcomings," as much to the consciousness of the same weakness as to religious affinities in the City of Commerce, and hope that London will not blush for Philadelphia; he knew that the pursuit of riches and the love of titles have made sad inroad on the simple virtues of the Quakers; and it can readily be conceived how those who can look up with undue respect to the distinctions which mark human folly, may lookdown with contempt or condescension on those which illustrate divine wisdom.

With sincere wishes for your happiness here, and the postponement of the reward which awaits you hereafter, I have much pleasure in subscribing myself, &c. &c.

E. S. ABDY.

I was too ill to attend the Convention, and am not now well enough to write for your "Bell." Liberia, you see, has been declared, officially, no colony of the United States. This ought to have been decided long ago. There is now, let us hope, an end of the Colonization Society. I was convinced in America that its settlement had no mother country to protect it. The less that is said of our Emancipation Act the better for those who carried it. It has established a principle by which the innocent and the oppressed may be made to pay for the cessation of outrages they could not have prevented, and for the recovery of rights they had never forfeited. It has put conventional morality above natural justice, and encouraged iniquity by removing the fear of its consequences. Actions are thus to be remunerated in proportion to their wickedness. Indictments are to be loaded with charges to secure conviction, and the judges are to award damages in favor of the guilty. It was a measure concocted by Fraud and conceded by Folly. It presumed a loss that could not be proved, and aggravated wrongs it affected to redress. Its "compensation," was a premium upon oppression, and its "apprenticeship" was the punishment of misfortune. Such was the boon to suffering humanity for which the Whigs are lauded by their tools and their toad-eaters;—and these are the patrons and protectors of liberty:—men who pocketed in the colonies what they had voted in Parliament—who ordered every colored stranger to be excluded from the land they had freed from the distinction of color, and who are now taxing the blacks that they may reduce the wages of freedom by immigration from Africa, and with paupers, where they can no longer traffic with Slaves. This base compromise has found its proper place in the Statesman's Book of Precedent. It might have been gratefully proposed as an example the other day in Macauly's didactic letter to his free-trade constituents. We should thus have been exultingly reminded of our imbecility:—and "the shame" of the philanthropist would have been added to "the glory" of the politician. The mean subserviency you have so forcibly and so justly condemned in English travellers, is not likely to be repeated. Truth will in future be promoted by its former impediments; and the wish to raise the character of a sect by disowning communion with its impurities will act more powerfully than the fear of lowering it by acknowledging them. "Religious" writers can no longer sacrifice justice to "orthodoxy," and bigotry itself will hardly dare to merge the Christian in the Sectarian. The tide of human infirmities gives current to what it obstructed, and he who, ten years ago, wanted courage to speak out, would now have too little to be silent. Such is the salutary influence of each church upon its rivals, and of public opinion upon all. Success may safely be predicted of a cause which the selfish and the timid have joined. The demon of narrow-mindedness has still its freaks and its caprice among the "liberals," and prejudice discolors the perceptions of the "unprejudiced." What passed at my interview with Dr. Channing has been strangely misrepresented by one of his partisans:—while another has made it a matter of grave accusation that I declined the refreshments offered—as if I had not done so on former occasions, and duly recorded the singular custom in America of allowing visitors to follow their own inclinations.

The remarks on Dr. Channing, as those upon the Quakers, referred not to Slavery; but to the vulgar antipathy of color. His friends, who have confounded them, cannot well escape the imputation of ignorance without incurring that of evasion.

It is a droll sort of an apology for a philosopher, that he who exhorted others not to yield to circumstances should have suffered his own conduct to be moulded by them. Goodness is the proper "*environment*" of a good man. The case is plain enough. Here was a teacher of humanity unmoved by the cruelties around him—inculcating the right of every human being to respect, and yet indifferent to the unmerited degradation of his fellow-countrymen—obnoxious by his silence to the reproaches he bestowed on others, and, while inculcating the duty of humility, neither rebuking nor noticing the most inveterate pride that ever insulted its victims and demoralized its votaries. It was natural for a stranger to approach with reluctance one whose inconsistencies he could not see without regret. If he was prevailed upon to visit Dr. Channing, he would have done still more violence to his feelings if he had been prevailed upon to suppress the narrative. He acted the part of an "honest chronicler," and he pities those who take offence at his candor.

The London Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society seem somewhat regardless of consistency. They oppose the introduction of laborers into the West Indies, and yet demand "protection" for the only interest which is to be promoted by it. They admit immigration will be injurious to the negro, while they represent the Whigs who support it as his best friends. They court the patronage of noble Lords who deprecate the sympathy they themselves profess for the American Abolitionists. The economical superiority of free over slave-labor is their declared conviction, and its inferiority is the assumption of their petitions to the Legislature. They war against slaveholding with the money they receive from Slaveholders. The wrongs of the negro swell out the Moravian subscriptions, and the slave-worked mine sharer's contribution on their list of subscribers proclaims their utter disregard of principle. The Judge's salary is paid out of the convict's hush-money. They declaim against the tyranny of the planters while they advocate a line of policy, which by encouraging an unremunerative produce, will leave the black to the mercy of his employer. While the condition of their influence on the national mind is to act in accordance with the national rights and interests, they defend a tariff of duties which robs the people without offering an equivalent, enriches their bitterest enemies, forces capital out of its natural channels, and depresses labor below the level it should find in the development of its inherent resources. That the West India proprietors, who wanted "protection" for compulsory labor against free, should now want "protection" for free labor against compulsory is perfectly consistent. They well know that the cultivation of sugar, under circumstances, which require large capitals and oppressive bounties, would check the tendency to independence in the growers of produce more adapted to the soil and the climate. They feel that the removal of restrictions would compel them to relinquish all hopes of rivalling the mother country in the enjoyment of a monopoly, based on the degradation of the peasantry and creative of an overbearing oligarchy. They see that Hayti finds it cheaper to import, than to grow sugar and they hope to tax us for the whole amount of the difference. Abolish the sugar duties, and the emancipated negro will be left to make an unimpeded bargain with his employer. Continue them, and he will be reduced to his former state of servitude. The Brazilian will not gain freedom, and the Jamaica black will lose it. What right, in fact, have we to take for granted the acquiesence of either in the views we are pleased to take of his interest? We may be inflicting an injury in striving to confer a benefit, and the sum of human misery may be increased by the steps we are taking for its diminution. It is the slave's question in the same sense as the Corn-Law is the laborer's question.

If free-trade, as most of the Abolitionists maintain, be a natural right, no deviation from its correlative obligation can, as they insinuate, be justified by the pretence of ultimate good. In the case before us, the good is contingent and doubtful; the evil is present and certain. The cry of inhumanity is too absurd to deserve an answer. For my part, I believe that Slavery is encouraged by the sugar-duties, as I know that the Slave-Trade has been encouraged by its "abolition."

You will not be surprised to hear that a schism has shown itself in the Abolition Society, and that the doings of the "Privy Council," have not met with the approbation of the general body. So far, indeed, has this impatient indocility proceeded, that the Committee has been denounced in a printed circular as "not so fully enjoying the confidence of the Anti-Slavery public as is necessary for the successful prosecution of its labors," and to have "unconsciously adopted a course involving principles of action at variance with justice and humanity." Whether the Committee is, like Slavery, to have its phases," I know not. Its present phasis," however, looks rather towards an eclipse than a crescent. Let us hope that we may be blessed with a luminary less encumbered with satellites, less eccentric in its orbit, and more bright in its inspirations.

COME-OUTERISM.

There seems to prevail, on the part of some of those who have entered the lists against "Come-outerism," an idea that if they can show that that position is not consistently maintained by all who profess to believe it a true one, that therefore the position itself is false. This is the old and wise proposition, hardly even in a new shape, that virtue is necessarily vice, because men who profess the first, practise the last,—that Christianity is a falsehood, because men who profess to be Christians, are liars and scoundrels. It requires no long-drawn argument,—but would rather be an insult to any man with brain enough to comprehend that two and two don't make five,—to show that this is not common sense, is very uncommon logic, and not even an ingenious sophism: and its accompanying proposition, that it is difficult, or even impossible, to be consistent with an acknowledged duty, may be a very good collateral argument in favor of the belief that man is totally depraved, but in this matter of "Come-outerism," is only a begging of the question. The true man holds up always before him the highest ideal of which he has any conception, and strives to reach that; and he is no true man, but a very coward, if because he does not at this moment, reach that point for which he strives—as indeed he never can, for the further he advances, the clearer is his spiritual vision, and his ideal is ever beyond and above his actual,—ceases, therefore to do, and sinks back into hopeless inactivity. If I profess to be a Disunionist, and declare that I will in no way support the system of Slavery, and yet do uphold it in a thousand ways; in showing me this, you convict me, it is true, of wrong-doing, but cannot thereby impugn the principle by which I profess to be governed.

Our correspondent "O," is a disciple in this school of philosophy. It is not strange that he, and the class he represents, should proclaim "Come-outerism" to be an absurdity—a *humbug*. They at least are consistent; and with their view, may very properly decry and ridicule every effort in others to become true men, for they recognise in them nothing of the spirit of true manliness. I might quote to them the old adage, which, like all old sayings, is full of truth, that "we judge others by ourselves," did I not really believe them better than their philosophy. But their code of ethics sees no difference, in fact, between right and wrong, good and evil, virtue and vice. Nor do they mean to advance the transcendental idea, that we know not the absolute right, nor the absolute wrong, because what in one age has been to men true, is in another untrue, and therefore, in the progression of time, that which in the Present shall be right, in the Future, shall, to more enlarged views, and a greater spiritual insight, be wrong. But they really maintain a very different doctrine, and know no such thing as absolute duty. That which they call a law is not a law, but only an undefinable something—an impulse, a sentiment, a feeling,—which is only to be so far obeyed, as under existing circumstances, may seem profitable and pleasant, or as likely, if they are lucky, to bring about a desired end. They substitute expediency for right,—make lying not a lie, if it is more convenient than the truth,—stealing not theft, if it seems to answer the purpose better than honesty—killing no murder, if it accomplishes any desired purpose,—and any crime which a man may commit, no crime at all, if he can give a reason for it which justifies it in his own eyes. The Ten Commandments may have been a very good municipal code for Jews, but there is nothing in them founded on the eternal laws of right and wrong,—for there is no such thing—which can make them of binding force for all men. The precepts of Jesus may have done very well for Peter, and Paul, and John, and their associates, but can have no application to us, for we are not in their circumstances. I do not mean, of course, to say such doctrines are knowingly maintained, but that they are the legitimate result of the assumed premises. Here is the *reductio ad absurdum* again.

But man must and will have some fixed law whereby he is to be governed. If he finds it not within him, he will find it without, and submit without hesitation or question to established authority. "Come-outerism" is nothing more nor less than the assertion of the rights of conscience, of the rights of private judgment, and the consequent action in accordance with a sense of duty approved by conscience and reason. It is the principle on which this Government was established. It is that which created the Protestant Reformation. It is in short by the assertion and living out of this principle, by which man has been enabled ever to make any progress in religion, in ethics, or in politics. If it is not a true one, then every protest against established authority, which the race has ever made, has been false and wicked, no matter how tyrannical or debasing that authority may have become. We should go back, to be "consistent," to that condition of things, if we can, when man was under the government of Kings, who claimed to reign *de jure divino*, and to the Church of the Apostolic succession. At least the Abolitionist should retrace his steps,—for that is possible—till he finds the pro-slavery Church which he abandoned,—till he is embraced again in the arms of the political pro-slavery brethren from whom he fled. He must do more than this,—he must repent of his first wrong-doing, wherein he declared Slavery to be a sin, for what right had he, poor fallible mortal, to exercise his reason, or claim a right of conscience, concerning that which the ages had sanctioned, and God had permitted to exist, as a fixed fact and unquestioned authority? I wonder that "O." did not see this, and put the first false step a little farther back than he has done, even to the first protest against Slavery itself.

I do not think it worth while to reply to the various objections raised by our correspondent to the present position of the American Society, on the question of voting. They have all been made before, and all been answered. I wish merely to direct attention to the philosophy of those who are opposed to us, which, whether they will acknowledge it or not, is that to which in the last analysis they must come. O. A. Brownson, the very prince of "grand and lofty tumblers," in politics and religion, in his last Quarterly Somerset, has branded "Come-outerism" as the very devil of our age, and the Satan revived who has been guilty of all the mischief the world has ever seen. I commend the following extracts from his article to the careful perusal of "O." and his friends, and bespeak for them their most thoughtful consideration. He says:

Now, we are perfectly willing to admit that the State and the Church exist for man, and that the true freedom of man is paramount to either. We are perfectly willing to admit, that, in the case either should become really hostile to human freedom, it would cease to be worthy of our support. But who has the right to decide the question?—*Here is the manifest Satanic spirit of Come-outerism. It assumes that the individual is his own judge; that, when I have decided for myself that a certain end is, in itself considered, good and holy, I have a right to seek it against all established authority.* The Constitution is in my way, and I get up, as actually did, some time since, a leading Abolition orator, in Faneuil Hall, and exclaim, "My *curse* on the Constitution!" Here, I set up my own individual conviction, or my own individual crotchet, and assume that I have a right to follow it, let it lead where it will. I recognize no authority but that of my own conviction, and claim the right to do whatever I please. I am wiser than Church and State; I am above Church and State; and there is no law to which I owe obedience, but the law which I am to myself. *This is the Satanic element of Come-outerism.* The Come-outer can justify himself only by making good his claims to a divine commission, and to immediate and plenary inspiration. *No authority but that of God can absolve a man from his obligation to obey the existing order; and he must show that he has that authority, or be convicted of the Satanic spirit.* Have our modern Abolitionists a warrant from the Almighty to set aside Church and State?

* * * * * * * * *

It is always lawful to seek to redress wrong, to labor to remove evil; whatever or wherever it is, *but only by lawful means*; and what are lawful means, the individual is not his own judge. *We all of us, from the highest to the lowest, owe obedience to authority, to the State in civil matters, and to the Church, authorized to speak in the name of Christ, in spiritual matters; and I have no right to use any method, or means of redressing wrongs, to labor for any ameliorations, but in submission to these.*

From this conclusion, however, many who are by no means reckoned among Come-outers will dissent. The truth is, and there is no use in seeking to disguise it, Come-outerism is only the common faith of the country pushed to its last consequences. Thousands and thousands of those who condemn, in no measured terms, Garrison, Rogers, Foster, Abby Folsom, and their immediate friends and associates, adopt and defend premises of which the wild notions of these are but the logical conclusions. In politics, the great majority of our countrymen assert the sacred right of revolution, and hold that Government derives its just powers from the assent of the governed; in religion, nearly all of us hold to the right of private judgment, that the individual is morally as well as politically free to choose his own religion. Doubtless, in practice we deny these principles, doubtless we resist their practical application, but they are the deliberately, the solemnly proclaimed faith of the country, and no man can maintain his standing in our community who calls in question their theoretic soundness. *Assuming individualism in religion, and no government without the assent of the governed, and the right of revolution in politics, we defy any man, who can reason logically, to escape the conclusions of our Come-outers.* We may say there is no occasion for the extremes to which they carry matters, we may dispute about this or that practical point, but we cannot object to their doctrines. They are consistent; we who oppose them are inconsistent. They have the courage to be true to their principles. We cowardly shrink from the legitimate consequences of our own faith.

Are there any who call themselves Abolitionists, ready to take this issue with Mr. Brownson, and like him, "be consistent," and go back to the bosom of the holy Mother Catholic Church?—G.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The proceedings of the Baltimore Convention excited no little dissatisfaction in a portion of this party, but it has heretofore shown itself only in muttered growlings—"curses not loud but deep." It appears by late developments, that this dissatisfaction originated not solely because of the abandonment of Mr. Van Buren as the Presidential candidate, but because the question of "Annexation" was made a rallying point for the Democracy. The New-York Plebeian published last week a letter, surreptiously obtained, which has been sent to various prominent members of the party, and signed by William C. Bryant, Theodore Sedgwick and others in this city. The letter complains of the Baltimore Convention for the difficult position in which it placed the party at the North by the rejection of Van Buren, and by the Texas Resolutions, leaving them the alternative of abandoning the party altogether, or of sustaining the nominations with a protest against the Annexation Scheme. They have preferred the latter course, and therefore ask the co-operation of the persons to whom the letter is sent, and their friends:

"1st—In the publication of a joint letter, declaring our purpose to support the nominations, rejecting the resolution respecting Texas.

2d—In promoting and supporting at the next elections the nomination for Congress of such persons as concur in these opinions."

"By the sentiments expressed in this letter," says the Evening Post, "the course of this paper in relation to the Texas question has been governed hitherto, and will be governed hereafter. We do not intend to recognize the annexation of Texas as an issue between the two great political parties."

Here is an anomaly in politics; a party,—or what is trying to be one,—going for the man, but endeavoring to defeat the distinctive measure which gave him the nomination, and to consummate which, he has pledged himself to the country! To such crooks and quiddities does their mistress Slavery condemn the men, who try at the same time to serve God and Mammon. Will the politicians, both Whigs and Democrats, never see, that to act with their parties, no choice is left them but to do the bidding of the Slaveholding power, and "ask no questions for conscience sake?" It is impossible for a party to exist,—embracing numbers enough to be called such,—under the existing Union, without obeying implicitly the commands of the Slaveholders, who hold the balance of power, and will throw their weight, into whichever scale is at the moment the lightest, that their own interests may be protected, and their own ends gained.

This New-York movement has been seconded in the western part of the State. In one county, it is said that the Democrats would either take this middle course, or vote for Birney. Neither would this last be surprising, for I hazard the guess that the Liberty party will ere long be merged in a section of the Democratic, and so go the way of all political parties.

These marches and counter-marches are interesting, as proofs of the effect that Anti-Slavery is having upon those last to be reached,—the political demagogues. I do not mean, however, to apply that term to all who are concerned in the movement which calls forth this paragraph. Some of them, I doubt not, are as honest as political partisans can be, though that indeed may be condemned as rather an equivocal reservation.—G.

POST OFFICE STATISTICS.

The Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, near the close of the last session of Congress, made a report through their Chairman, Mr. Dana, in which a considerable reduction in postage was advocated. The Cincinnati Herald gives the following statistics, taken from the report. They give a very good reason why the North has not been allowed low postage,—because the Southerners choose that we shall pay the expense of transporting their mails, which they cannot themselves do. This, like all other questions of moment, in governmental policy, is resolving itself into one between the North and the South, or more properly between Freedom and Slavery.

From the preceding table, it appears that the length of the routes in the southern States exceeds the Northern,	*Miles.* 2,144
The newspaper postage in the Northern States exceeds the Southern,	$198,739
The letter postage in the Northern States exceeds the Southern,	1,132,483
Excess of postage in the Northern over the Southern States,	1,331,222
Transportation of the mails annually in the Northern States,	*Miles.* 20,100,204
Do. do. do. in the Southern States,	15,152,601
Excess of annual transportation in the Northern States,	4,947,603
Cost per mile of annual transportation in the Southern States,	*Cents.* 10.20
Do. do. do. in the Northern States	7.00
Excess of cost in Southern States, 46 per cent. or, per mile,	3.20
Total cost of transportation in the Southern States,	$1,546,182
Do. do. do. in the Northern States,	1,401,137
Excess of cost in the Southern States,	145,045
Gross revenue in the Northern States,	$2,790,264
Do. do. do. Southern States,	1,459,043
Excess of gross revenue in Northern States,	1,331,221
	Cents.
Postage per head in the Northern States,	28.68
Do. do. do. Southern States,	19.88
Excess per head in Northern States, 44 per ct. or	8.80
Net revenue received by the Post-office Department from the Northern States,	$1,956,600
Do. do. received from the Southern States,	1,000,914
Excess received from the Northern States,	955,688
Excess of revenue in the Northern States over expenses,	$555,463
Deficiency of revenue in the Southern States to pay expenses,	$545,268

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

In noticing, a fortnight ago, the meetings to be held on the 1st of August, I stated that the Pennsylvanians were to celebrate the day at Norristown. The meeting referred to, however, is to be, not to-day, but on the 12th instant, at Norristown. It will continue three days, at least, and is expected to be a large one. A strong delegation from Philadelphia will be present, and it is hoped that some of the Massachusetts friends will join them. No one is going from this city, that I know of, except myself. There are hardly Abolitionists enough here "to say *we*."

NOTICES—LITERARY, AND CRITICAL.

Excursion through the Slave States, from Washington to Mexico, with Sketches of Popular Manners, and Geological Notices. By G. W. FEATHERSTONHAUGH, F. R. S., F. G. S: HARPER & BROTHERS.

This excursion was made in 1834–5,—the work shortly after announced in London for publication, by Murray, and *suppressed* upon the advice of some of the author's American friends of *great respectability*, who represented to him that his relation of some incidents, and his expression of some opinions, could not fail to *irritate a powerful interest* in the United States, and to set him at variance with many esteemed friends. This counsel, coming as the author tells us, from the friendly and the judicious, decided him to suppress the work, until his return to his native country should have rendered their opinions of no consequence to him:—or, to use his own language, "should give him perfect freedom to express any opinions on the side of humanity, rational liberty, and the moral government of mankind." His good intentions in this kind were, however, again interfered with, on his return in 1839, by his being honored by her Majesty' Government, with the appointment of Commissioner on the disputed boundary question.

Mr. Featherstonhaugh's book is certainly amusing, but it will not be wondered at, after the foregoing statement, if however much it may be read, it should fail to please. He has tried too much to please all, thoroughly to suit any. Himself he does not seek to please—at least till the time has gone by. He describes with spirit and ability camps of negro slave-drivers,—coffles of slaves crossing ruins manacled and fettered,—the difference of manners in the Slave and Free States,—the process of "rranaing negroes,"—the court and code of Judge Lynch,—the condition of the quadroons,—the dogmas of Slaveholders, and the mode of carrying on the Slave traffic.—All this cannot fail to offend those who wish these things kept out of sight.

But the antidote is as follows:—"The most zealous of the Abolitionists of the Free States, when they denounce Slavery, and call for its *immediate* abolition, overlook the conditions on which alone it could be effected. They neither propose to provide a home for the slaves when they are manumitted, nor a compensation to their proprietors. Without slaves the plantations would be worthless: there are no white men to cultivate them—the newly freed and improvident negroes could not be made available—there would be no purchasers to buy the land, and no tenants to rent it. The Abolitionists, therefore, call upon the planters to bring ruin upon their families without helping the negro. Not uniting in some great practical measure to effect the emancipation of the slaves at the national expense, they suffer the evil to go on increasing." "The uncompromising obloquy which has been cast at the Southern planters, by their not too scrupulous adversaries, is not therefore deserved by them." This, while it offends every true friend of Freedom, makes it a safe speculation for the Harpers to indulge their reading public in a *little* knowledge, especially as so much is "peeping through the blanket of the dark," from other sources. To be entirely ignorant on the subject of Slavery, is to be behind the age; and so, with proper lines of discrimination, Mr. Featherstonhaugh has the imprimatur of the great publishing house that dared not publish the Journal of Abdy's Travels in the United States, a year previous; which it is doing injustice to the latter to name in the same breath, so much does it transcend the other in every order of merit. Mr. Abdy has himself thus well defined what we in America consider the *limitations of free discussion*:

"Write against Freedom, and your work will be received with the highest honors. Speak in favor of it, and you run the risk of being tarred and feathered. You may praise America from your hatred of tyranny, but you must not censure her from your hatred to tyrants. If you chance to hint that the cap of Liberty which you see glittering at the top of a long pole, is placed so high that every fifth man cannot reach it, and is so shrunk by exposure to a bad air, that the other four cannot wear it, you will soon wish yourself in a free country."—c.

ABBY KELLEY.—All letters and papers intended for Abby Kelley, should be directed to her at Dover, New Hampshire, until further notice.

Died.

In Rochester, on the 16th instant, after a short illness, JEFFRIES HALLOWELL, aged 33 years.

In recording the death of this amiable brother, we feel that we are called to mourn the loss of one of those excellent spirits which adorn not the age only, but the race. He was kind, humane, and generous, in an eminent degree. A high and noble sense of justice, a readiness to assist the persecuted and oppressed, and to encourage the drooping and desponding mind—maintaining, himself, a cheerful and animated deportment—are virtues which adorned his character.

In the various reforms which are now struggling in our midst, and which, in a future day, will render this a marked age, he took a deep interest, contributed liberally of his means for their support, and by his still more powerful advocacy encouraged their growth; believing, with many others who are anxious for truth and right to prevail, that there is a higher and happier state of things attainable, and which can only be effected by the faithful labors of the *true* friends of the human race.

The deep sense of bereavement will not be confined to his sorrowing wife, and brothers and sister; but a large circle of friends, to whom he was greatly endeared, will long and deeply lament his loss, creating as it must, a pang of sorrow at the recurrence of every thought that reminds us of his early exit.—COMMUNICATED.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from July 15th, to July 27th, 1844.

Wm. T. Codding, Bristol Centre, N. Y.	$ 0.50
Nathan G. Herenden, Manchester, N. Y.	2.00
A. White, Leicester, Mass.	4.00
James Marsh, Jr. Cassville, N. Y.	1.00
Horace Peck, Geneva, Ashtabula Co. Ohio,	1.00
Asaph Turner, " " "	4.00
Joseph Scantlebury, Auburn, N. Y.	2.00
David Wyman, Westminster, Mass.	2.00
Col. Stewart, Sherman, Ct.	1.75
Elisha Truman, East Hamburg, N. Y.	2.00
S. W. Brown, Little Falls, N. Y.	1.00
James Cope, Malta, Morgan Co. Ohio,	2.00
Abigail Motte, Albany, N. Y.	2.00
John L. Thompson, Lamberton, Ohio.	2.00
Watson, Fellows & Co. Franklin, N. H.	3.00
Tryphena B. Hinckley, Topsham, Me.	2.00
Ladies A. S. Sewing Circle, Lunenburg, Mass.	1.00
Wm. P. Powell, New-York,	0.50
John H. Murray, Johnstown, N. Y.	2.00
A. L. Haskell, Chelsea, Mass.	7.00
R. Randall, Worcester, Mass.	1.00
G. W. Johnson, Buffalo, N. Y.	2.25
Wm. H. Humphreys, Millbury, Mass.	2.00
Lemuel Mungan, Millvile, Mass.	2.00
Increase S. Smith, Dorchester, Mass.	2.00
Wm. J. Bowditch, Boston, Mass.	2.00
Augustus R. Pope, Kingston, Mass.	2.00
John Fuller, Boston, Mass.	2.00
Lemuel Stevens, Pittsburg, Penna.	2.00
Joseph Cope, Short Creek, Ohio.	2.00
A. Weller, Skaneateles, N. Y.	1.00
David Brown, Winfield, N. Y.	2.00
S. B. Watson, Lowell, Mass.	2.00
	— 67.00
Donations.	
Edward M. Davis, Philadelphia,	100.00
Total amount received	$167.00

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

NOTICES.

FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE.

It is proposed to hold a series of conventions throughout the State of Ohio, this summer and fall, to spread Anti-Slavery light and truth abroad, and awaken the people to a sense of their responsibilities in reference to this all-important subject. We appeal to you, fellow-citizens, to your sympathies and sense of justice, for the means of keeping such men as Amos Dresser and Henry Bibb in the field; the one to show what we have to do with slavery, the other to tell of the wrongs and sufferings of the slave, (he having been one of the sufferers,) with pathos and natural eloquence that goes directly to the heart, awakening the tender sympathies of the soul and taking directly hold of the individual's conscience.

Shall they and all others be enabled to plead the cause of freedom and rebuke the wrong?

Shall tongues be mute when deeds are wrought,
That well might shame extremest hell,
Shall freemen lack the indignant thought,
Shall mercy's bosom cease to swell?
"Shall honor bleed, shall truth succumb,
Shall pen, and thought, and soul be dumb.
By all above, around, below,
Be our indignant answer, No.
"Up then in freedom's manly part,
From grey-head eld to fiery youth,
And on the nation's naked heart,
Scatter the living coals of truth."

Contributions and pledges can be handed to A. F. Hanna, Cadiz, and Cyrus McNeely, Harrison county, Jane Boyd, Lloydsville, Belmont county, Thomas Moore, Carroll county, George Garretson, Treasurer, New Lisbon, Columbiana county, Elihu Bailey, Somerset, Belmont county, or to myself.

Those friendly to the above object are requested to act as agents in making contributions in their respective neighborhoods.

SAMUEL BROOKS.
Gen. Agent, O. A. A. S. Society.

CADIZ, July 3d, 1844.

PAWTUCKET ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The public are hereby informed that the Ninth Annual Fair of the Pawtucket Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society, will take place on Wednesday, August 28th, at Columbian Hall, High street, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

The Fairs of this Association have been so long before the public, that it seems superfluous at this time, to do more than simply to announce the yearly return of another, in order to insure a full gathering. This we confidently hope and expect will be the case.

E. SHOVE,
I. J. ADAMS, } Committee.
S. SISSON.

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST, 1844, BY THE HAMILTON LYCEUM.

The public are respectfully informed, that in view of observing in a proper manner, the return of the ever memorable First of August, which gave birth to the emancipation of 800,000 *of our British West India Brethren*, a public meeting will be held by the HAMILTON LYCEUM, in ZION CHURCH, *corner of Church and Leonard Streets, on Thursday Evening, August 1st*, 1844, on which occasion, they offer the following as the order of exercises:

Prayer, By Rev. WM. H. BISHOP, of Zion Church. Reading the 58th chapter of Isaiah, By Mr. RANSOM F. WAKE.

After which, the following Liberty Hymn will be sung, by an efficient choir, under the direction of Mr. ROBERT HAMILTON.

Tune—"Mount Calvary."

1. See yon glorious star, ascending
Brightly o'er the Southern sea!
Truth and peace to earth portending,
Heralds of a jubilee!
Hail it, freemen!
'Tis the *star* of liberty.

2. Dim at first, but widely spreading,
Soon 'twill burst supremely bright,
Life and health and comfort shedding,
O'er the shades of moral night;
Hail it, bondmen!
Slavery *cannot* bear its light.

3. Few its rays—'tis but the dawning
Of the reign of truth and peace;
Joy to slaves—but sad forwarning,
To the tyrants of our race;
Tremble, tyrants!
Soon your *evil power* will cease.

4. Earth is brighten'd by the sky
Of its mild and peaceful rays;
Ransomed slaves shall *tell* the story,
See its light, and sing its praise;
Hail it, Christians!
Harbinger of better days.

An address will then be delivered by Mr. ROBERT FORTEN, of Philadelphia. At the close of the address, the following Hymn will be sung.

"The Harbinger."

1. Freeman! tell us of the night,
What its signs of promise are!
Bondman! Lo! Britannia's light,
Freedom's glory beaming star!
Freeman! do its blessed rays
Promise good to slaves like me?
Bondman! yes, its glorious blaze
Lights *your* path to liberty.

2. Freeman! tell us of the night—
Does its star approach our land?
Bondman! mark yon dawning light,
Lo! the breaking day's at hand;
Freeman! can these beams alone
Bid our dreadful bondage cease?
Bondman! *God* is on the throne,
He will bring thee quick release.

3. Freeman! shall our fetter'd race
Cease to wear the galling chain?
Bondman! Lo! the God of grace
Comes to end the tyrant's reign;
Freeman! can it—can it be?
Shall we share thy glorious name?
Bondman! yes, thou shalt be free—
Spread *thy great deliverer's* name.

ORATION—By Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON, of Hartford, Connecticut.—After which, the grand finale.

"Britannia hath Triumph'd."

1. Blow ye the trumpet abroad o'er the sea,
Britannia hath triumph'd—the bondman is free;
Sing—for the pride of the tyrant is broken,
His scourges and fetters, all clotted with blood,
Are wrench'd from his grasp; for the word was but spoken,
And fetters and scourges are sunk in the flood.
Blow ye, &c.

2. Hail to Britannia, fair Liberty's isle!
Her frowns quail'd the tyrant, the slave caught the smile;
Fly on the winds to tell Afric the story,
Say to the mother of mourners, "Rejoice,"
Britannia went forth in the might of her glory,
And slaves sprung to men at the sound of her voice;
Praise to the God of our father; 'twas he—
Jehovah—who triumph'd, Britannia, by thee.

BENEDICTION.

In order to defray the expenses, the admission will be 6 1-4 cents.

The exercises will commence precisely at 8 *o'clock.*

After the Benediction, the members of the Lyceum, together with their friends and guests, will repair to UNION HALL, under the Broadway Tabernacle, (entrance 101 Anthony street,) kept by our devoted and worthy fellow-citizen, WM. P. JOHNSON, who will prepare a *Fruit and Temperance Entertainment*, under the patronage of the Lyceum. Short addresses will then be delivered by several Gentlemen.

TICKETS for the Entertainment 25 Cents—to be had of the Committee, and at UNION HALL.

P. H. REASON,
J. J. ZUILLE, } Committee of
G. T. DOWNING, } Arrangements.

NOTICE.

A meeting of the American Society, for the collection and diffusion of information in relation to the punishment of death, will be held at the Church in Elizabeth street, above Walker, on Monday evening next, at 8 o'clock, P. M.

ANTI-SLAVERY PIC-NIC.

An Anti-Slavery Pic-Nic will be held in a beautiful grove at *Sweet Springs*, in *Upper Oxford* township, Chester County, Pa., two miles west of Cochranville, on Seventh day, the 3d of eighth month next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. Come one, come all, abolitionists and those who are not abolitionists. We anticipate a feast of instruction and eloquence, as several eminent speakers, among whom are Samuel Aaron, Thomas Earle, and

Poetry.

From "The Bow in the Clouds," published in England in 1838.

THE MOTHER.

BY ANN GILBERT, A SISTER OF JANE TAYLOR.

Mother! a happy home hast thou,
In some green valley's shade?
Bless'ed by the dear domestic vow,
At yonder altar paid?
Secure, as if by right divine,
That home of love thou callest thine!

And dost thou there thy baby's cheek
Regard with fondest gaze?
Does that dear boy with merry freak,
Delight thee, as he plays?
And she, thine elder one,—for her,
Does no sweet thought of blessing stir?

Nay, love them not!—for thine no more,
This tender group shall be!—
I've bought them!—watch from yonder shore,
That vessel out at sea;—
I've bought thy children,—o'er the waves
They go, to join my gang of slaves!

I saw that gentle girl of thine
With anguish in her soul,
I marked the drops of burning brine
That down her cheeks did roll;
I heard her for her mother cry;—
Yet had I not a right to buy?

Perchance in some far field away,
The lash may teach her toil,
While tears of anguish, day by day,
Shall slake the fervid soil;
But thou,—her mother,—ne'er shalt know
Where sheds thy child those tears of wo!

Mothers,—the fair, the firm, the free,
Of England's vaunted isle,
Tell me if griefs like this shall be,
And you be still the while!
No! strong in woman's virtue rise!
And heed the negro mother's cries!

With plighted hands a living chain,
Unsevered, but to die,—
Crusaders, sally forth again
To heed that thrilling cry!—
A broken heart your ensign be,
Your watchword, Love and Liberty!

From the Same.

WEST INDIAN SLAVERY.

BY WILLIAM HOWITT.

"Slaves cannot breathe in England." That is true,
But they who forge the chains of slavery do.
The British Senator at midnight raves
Of Liberty—and holds his hundred slaves.
The British merchant, whose adventurous soul
Dares for his gain the terrors of each pole:
The British gentleman in Freedom's isle,
The British father, basking in the smile
Of love and laughing childhood,—nay, even he
Who "boasts the blood of Christ has made him free,"
All, sorely tainted with the gainful lust,
Deem Slavery wise; nay, everything but—just.
True, the foul scene that brands us and defiles,
Is held at distance in our Indian isles.
True—no blood trickles from our bondman's sores,
No fetters clank, no lash sounds on our shores.
Oh! that they were but near us! then the soul
Of an indignant people would control
Slavery's fell spirit, with that mighty word
Which tyrants ever trembled as they heard.
Vain would the subtlest sophistry be then,
Or the feigned terrors of insatiate men.

Ah! they who deem themselves so proudly laid
In Freedom's lap that none can make afraid,
Would never, never see the pleading face
Of woman, bowed in pitiless disgrace,
In sins and sorrows which perforce transmute
Immortal man into a reasoning brute.
Ah! they to whom the sweet and hallowed scope
Of Life's strong sympathies and death's strong hope
Than Life itself are dearer, holier far,
Would never see them trampled as they are!
The husband, leaning on the breast which nursed
His happy children, never would see cursed
The groaning negro, doomed to hear the wail
Of child and mother, severed at the sale
To meet no more,—but sent like him to share
All the vile crimes and miseries of despair.

But these are distant; we behold them not;
And we live sweetly in our pleasant lot,
To talk of England's virtues—England's fame—
And charities that will embalm her name.
A happy, generous country of the free,
With not a slave—but what's beyond the sea!
'Twixt thee and infamy an ocean rolls;
But, will it wash the stains of cruel souls?
When the sun looks upon those glowing isles,
Where everything, but thy sad victims, smiles,
Thou dost not see them—but are they not seen
In the heart's sun-light, far more bright and keen?

Sleep on, thou glorious island mid the waves,
Sweet be thy slumbers—in thee are no slaves!
Sleep on, thou Queen of ocean!—not a groan
Of the spent negro shall approach thy throne.
The whip, the chain, fierce torture, hopeless toil,
Far be they banished to some savage soil.
In thee are tender hearts, and minds that make
Thee loved and honored for thy mercies' sake.
Lo! how thy swarming children duly flock
To His high temple, whom they dare not mock.
Hark! to the contrite sinner's pleading tone,
"Oh! Father take from me this heart of stone!"
Thy children worship, almost from their birth,
The God who made of one blood all the earth;—
The God of Love, who sent his Son to give
The law of mutual love to all who live.

Sleep on, fair island, mid such plenteous streams
Of righteousness—what should disturb thy dreams?
Horrors and crimes so distant, can't defile
Thy emerald breast, thou art a saintly isle!
Aye, sleep, but know that Freedom not the more
Will fold her pinions till thy trance is o'er;
Her wings have swept the Western world, her shrill
Trumpet alarms, what earthly power may still?
Those mighty realms from Erie's northern lake,
Even to the far Magellan are awake.
The night is passed,—there mind has reached its birth,
Men cast with scorn their fetters to the earth.
From Hayti's neighboring State, what kindred cries
Call to thy captives,—"Ho! arise! arise!"
They *will* arise! at *thine* or at *their* call,
Mercy will melt, or vengeance burst their thrall,
And thou must fly thy spirit frozen dream
At a world's plaudit, or at scorn's extreme.
The savour isle! the loved! almost adored!—
For crimes atoned and human rights restored.
Or agonized spectatress of the chain
Shivered by hands, long stretched to thee in vain;
The victory won—firm planted Freedom's tree,
And the world blest,—but shame bequeathed to thee.

* * * *

And he that shuts Love out, in turn shall be
Shut out from Love, and on her threshold lie
Howling in utter darkness. Not for this
Was common clay ta'en from the common earth,
Moulded by God, and tempered with the tears
Of angels to the perfect shape of man.—*Tennyson.*

Miscellany.

EXTRACTS FROM ABDY'S JOURNAL.

Not yet Republished in the United States.

RELIGIOUS HYPOCRISY.

If I were to tell my friends in England, that one of the most enlightened and estimable men with whom I became acquainted in America, declared that he did not really think he could eat his dinner, were a colored man sitting at the same table with him, I should be accused of exceeding the limits of the traveller's privilege. To be the dupe of his own imagination, is the fate of almost every one who visits a foreign country: but the conviction of the truth which dissipated the dreams and illusions I had formed of a land so highly favored, brought with it no counterbalance to the painful disappointment it occasioned.

It surely was not unreasonable to expect some portion of Christian love and humanity towards their immediate neighbors, among those who were sending out missionaries to evangelize the remotest corners of the globe;—few would have been prepared to find an obstinate denial of justice and charity where Bible Societies abounded: and something like liberality of mind and good sense might have been looked for in the home and sanctuary of schools. When a people make a profession of religion, we have a right to ask them why they set at nought the precepts it teaches, and the duties it inculcates: and we cannot but be grieved when we see them lay aside its letter as well as its spirit, like an old almanac, to make way for a code of ethics which has nothing to recommend it but the humiliation it inflicts upon those whom its framers have injured and oppressed.

It may well be doubted whether the Priesthood of any country is ever in advance of the spirit of the times. But nowhere, whatever be the sect or the calling, have they so basely prostituted their sacred calling to the furtherance of the very vices they were ordained to correct and control. They have left a stain upon their character which can neither be removed nor palliated. The Quakers form no exception to this disgraceful servility. They are as contemptuous to their sable brethren as the strictest Episcopalian, or the most orthodox Presbyterian. It would seem as if the evil principle were permitted to assume the garb of sanctity to shew that religion must be true, or it could not survive under the weight of such hypocrisy.

THE UNION.

Every man of discernment must see that there is a fatal want of cohesion and homogeneity between the great sections of the Union, and that communities, in which industry is either debased or discouraged, cannot be permanently incorporated with those that owe their prosperity and security to the wealth it creates, and the respect it commands.

REMEDIES OF PAUPERISM.

The more one sees of paupers and pauper establishments, the deeper is the conviction that the distresses of the laboring classes here, are chiefly, if not entirely, owing to intemperance, or want of foresight, and that the remedies usually employed for their relief, are better fitted to increase than prevent the evil, by weakening the chief check to indulgence in removing the dread of its consequences.

"FANATICS."

Men who, in every age and country catch from the elevated situation they have assumed, the first rays of that divine light which has not reached the crowd below; men who are honorably distinguished by the hatred and compassion of the weak and the wicked—the enemies of that reform they will one day boastingly advocate; men whose zeal in the cause of humanity is at once the result, and the reproach of the selfishness around them; men, who in the confederated republic of North America are a butt and a by-word for the ribaldry of the vilest and the most venal journalists in the world:

"By whom to be dispraised is no small praise,
Their lot who dare be singularly good."

The nature and progress of national reform may be seen in the conduct of its opponents. They begin by stigmatizing its leaders as the vilest of the vile, that it may be thought bad advocates cannot have a good cause—and they end by becoming its friends, that it may be thought a good cause cannot have bad advocates. Great men belong to the first period; great statesmen to the second. It is unjust to confound them, and to expect principle where there never has been anything but expediency. American Emancipation is pure from all political taint. She has had her martyrs: she is not yet disgraced by demagogues.

PHILADELPHIA.

While the cholera was raging, the only ministers who attended at the hospital to afford religious consolation to the patients, were the Catholic Priests, whom no personal considerations could prevail upon to quit the post assigned them by their sense of duty. It was the same at the time of the yellow fever. I have both facts from one of the physicians who attended. On the former occasion the only spiritual aid the Protestant sick received was from a black man, who prayed by their bedsides, and some women of the same race, who were employed to wash the linen, and who sang hymns to the poor sufferers. Similar desertions, and similar devotedness were remarked in other places. Who are the persons most respected in the city? Those who abandoned it in its affliction! Who are most reviled as religionists, and despised as men? The very people who exposed their lives in smoothing the path of death to its inhabitants!

APPRENTICESHIP.

The American Abolitionists have no intention to follow the example of England. They do not acknowledge a right in any community to compel men by the terror of the cartwhip, to toil for the benefit of those who have been already "compensated" for the loss of that power by which they plundered and tortured them. They cannot see why any one who has been exposed against his consent to the burning rays of the sun, should have half as much more injustice done him, than another who has been sheltered from them, and be compelled to toil six years, while the other toils but four. They think that there is but little difference between the slave and the apprentice; and that both have the same rights, whether "predial," or "non-predial."

REFORMATION.

Should be suggested and rewarded by conscience alone. Both its purity and its permanence will be affected by any inducement or expectation from other sources.

COLORED SCHOOLS IN SALEM.

A large majority of the citizens at a public meeting in Salem, (Massachusetts,) lately, (1834,) resolved, "That the School Committee be instructed to provide a school in some convenient place, for the instruction of colored children, belonging to the town, and to remove said children, now in the public schools, to said school." * * * *

It is easy to see both the motives and the effects of this public announcement. It encourages the evil disposed, by the example it gives; and points out the intended victim of their brutality, by driving deeper in, the brand that marks him. The "higher orders" are guiltless of the slaughter; they merely put up the game.

HUMANITY.

The greatest villain is still a man; and the less there is of humanity left in any one, the greater ought to be our solicitude for its preservation.

From the Correspondence of the Commercial Advertiser.

DEATH OF MRS. DAVIDSON.

I have just returned from a funeral—that of Mrs. Davidson, wife of Dr. Oliver Davidson, of this place, and sister of the late Morris S. Miller, of Utica.—This honored mother has followed her gifted daughters, and again is resumed the companionship, so intimate and delightful, which was begun on earth.

Mrs. Davidson was born in 1787, I think in the southern part of New-York, and though her path has been in the quiet of domestic life, intermixed with few of those events of general interest which reflect a kind of lustre on some characters, upon few has shone an effulgence more brilliant and glowing, though soft and gentle, than upon her's, whose death it now becomes my melancholy office to announce.

With a physical temperament in the highest degree excitable, every nerve from earliest infancy strung to the highest pitch, susceptible beyond expression, and frail to a degree scarcely conceivable, she had also, a power of endurance, an energy and resolution which the "strong man," might envy.

The cast of Mrs. Davidson's mind was decidedly poetical, and her love for the beautiful and the chaste discovered itself in all those little every day affairs which, in truth, make up life. With a rich, glowing imagination, it was seldom that a circumstance could become of interest to her, without being tinted with its rays. Hence it was that her descriptions were so full and glowing, and her conversation in general was so rich and attractive; and hence, too, perhaps, that she was able to maintain so completely the interest of the young about her. To this may it in part be ascribed that her Lucretia and Margaret lisped in verse, and her Levi, on the banks of Lake Champlain, with his miniature equipment of sword, epaulette, and gun, declared that he would live and die a soldier. A juvenile aspiration which, as most readers well know, his very short but brilliant career abundantly verified.

Mrs. Davidson was married young, and perhaps the only part of her life which might, in the common acceptation, be called eventful, was, what in the work entitled "Selections," recently published by her, she has portrayed as "Events of a few eventful days in 1814,"—and in this narrative the reader will doubtless recognize in Dr. and Mrs. Stanley, Anna, Louisa, and Charley, Dr. and Mrs. Davidson, and the older children. This, however was but a glimpse of her sufferings; her life was indeed, as she herself says, "the path of anguish," though upon that path shone so much radiance.

After the family removed from Plattsburgh, they resided for some time in the neighborhood of the city of New-York, and thence removed to Ballston, and afterward to Saratoga, where they have since remained. But as she often said, "in each place of my sojourn it seems to me that I have left some of my treasures." On the lake several infant children died, and there LUCRETIA was buried. At a place of casual sojourn, a very promising and lovely boy, who has become known to the reading world by the allusions of his sisters—little Kent—was entombed, and at Saratoga, MARGARET and the YOUNG SOLDIER lay down to die. And here now must that bereft and sorrowing husband and father mourn her who, in time of sorrow, could with him look upward and adore. Now must he kiss the rod, and bow to him who hath appointed it. In the following spirited lines which I quote from one of her own little poems:—

"But what shall I say? Shall I sing of the mind
That within that fair, perishing form is enshrined?
Its virtues are lasting, they never decay—
But grow brighter and brighter as time wears away.

'Tis that spirit divine which to mortals is given
Oh, tis surely a bright emanation from heaven,
The light grows more brilliant with nature's decay,
And it beams through eternity's long, endless day."

And oh, how true this proved of her, who breathed these lines. During her whole invalid life, that mind has surmounted pain and suffering; it could not be pressed down with its weight of wo, and at every mitigation of disease would still be as much alive as ever to the charms of the beautiful, to the excellencies of the good—and in her last, most painful, wasting illness, when there was scarce a moment of alleviation, still the predominance of that mind was perceptible in all, even to the last, the very last hour, not to say moment, of her earthly life.

But to those who look beyond the present, beyond the intellectual, it will be a source of exquisite pleasure to know that the faith which sustained her in her bitterest sorrows, assuaged her griefs, gave a relish to her dearest joys, carried her through the last conflict, was the same which sustained a sinking Peter, and gave force and successful energy to the Apostles of the Gentiles. It was faith in Christ Jesus as the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world. In Him she rejoiced in life, trusted while walking through deep waters, on Him she stayed her brightest hopes, and rested and rejoiced in the hour of nature's agony.

It is an interesting fact, and perhaps may be new to most of your readers, that a translation of Margaret's memoirs into German has recently come out from the pen of Miss Forster, of Dresden. The volume itself, with the following beautiful tribute to both mother and daughter, reached Mrs. Davidson upon her dying bed, when she was too ill to acknowledge the compliment, and could only listen to its delicate and tender sentiments. By permission a few extracts are subjoined.

"DRESDEN, March 26th, 1844.

"My dear Madame:

"Though she who dares to intrude upon you is unknown to you, you are no stranger to her: you are one of whom she thinks so often, whose short happiness and whose long suffering so often wholly absorb her mind, that she fancies herself to be near you, to press the hands which have closed the eyes of sweet Margaret, and to be led by you to her grave, which she would regard like that of a dear, dear friend. Oh, I feel how presumptuous it is when I say, my friend, of one who was so heavenly, so pure, so quite of another world than I. But when I read, when I translated your Margaret's biography, my imagination created me such a lively image of her, that I often thought to have her at my side, that I spoke with her, and lost myself for moments so wholly in that poetical, angel-like being, as to forget almost my own self, and even now when this my own self feels barren and cold, or chained to earth, and so overcoated with worldly clay, that the light of heaven cannot pierce through, the thought of your Margaret, who, with her first step on earth, was already beginning her flight to heaven, is for me one of those thoughts which loosen the chains, melt the hard crust, and give wings to all feelings.

"I cannot tell you, dearest Madame, what an impression the reading of this life, which two years ago was sent me by a dear friend, Miss ——, of B——, made upon me. I could not but translate it; for I wished to be as long and as often as possible in this angel's society; so I translated it at first only for my own sake, but afterward the ardent desire of making this beloved Margaret known and loved by other hearts, made me publish the little work. But oh! how much do I feel that I could give but a feeble reflection of what she told, though in writing. I made all her feelings my own, which they really often were. I often thought that I profaned the effusions of the purest soul, by pronouncing them once more in another language, yet I did my utmost not to touch too grossly the ethereal tissue of these verses, and to render as truly as I was able, the prevailing spirit of them, so that they might present to the reader the same charming image of her who wrote them, as they had done to me. And I am happy that in this at least I succeeded, for I hear from many parts, and read in many literary papers, that the image of your Margaret fills many hearts; that the few poems I translated cause many complaints of the premature death of this richly-gifted poetical being, and that for her sister Lucretia also, the attention of the public is lively awakened."

"I thought it a happy accident, almost sanctioning my little work, that without having proposed it, I ended it to-day a year, on the birthday of your Margaret. I need not assure you that to-day also my thoughts are with you and with her, and I solemnize this day, which I shall ever remember, by writing to you, and wishing you joy of the gift God bestowed upon you, even now when he has taken it away, for the happiness of having possessed such a child must even outweigh the pain of being bereft of it. Oh! I know that you cannot be unhappy; I know that those we loved once are never far from us. I also know that a grief like yours has its own sweetness, that it approaches us to God, that by having our best part in Heaven we are even here connected with it by a strong tie.

"You must excuse my poor English, but I did not write in German, being ignorant if you understood my tongue; I hope, however, this is the case, that you might see how even in this other language, and written by a very weak hand, the quintessence of your Margaret's words could not be lost, so I took the liberty of sending you the little volume, and hope you will kindly excuse the boldness, and that of my writing to you. With the utmost respect, yours,

"MARIE FOSTER.

"Mrs. Margarite Miller Davidson."

How touching and sad the tribute to the memory of Margaret from Germany, reaching poor Mrs. D. as it did, after every hope of life had departed, and while enduring the tortures of the cruel disease of which she died!—when her ear was so nearly deaf to earthly fame, and the incense of human praise!

She retained her reason till the last moment, and even gave the most minute directions in regard to the last melancholy observances. During intervals of mitigated suffering, she has arranged all her papers, and given directions concerning her own and her children's literary remains. What a joyful meeting between that mother and daughters, so closely united on earth, in taste, sympathy, and affection! After having contemplated her intense bodily suffering for the last few days, it is refreshing to the spirit to have them ended so gloriously. A. E. W.

Saratoga Springs, June 28,

The following letter refers to the late work on the French Navy by the Prince de Joinville.

THE PRINCE OF JOINVILLE'S AMATEUR-INVASION OF ENGLAND.

Punch to Joinville—Dear Monseigneur—When the bones of the hero, who left a legacy to CANTILLON for trying to assassinate the Duke of WELLINGTON, were given back to the France which he loved so well—it was you, dear JOINVILLE, who were despatched to remove the sacred ashes from the rock where they lay. I always had a good opinion of you after your conduct on that expedition.

It must be confessed, the brutal tyrants who murdered the meek apologist of CANTILLON, behaved pretty handsomely in the matter of giving up his Imperial bones. You, Gentlemen of the *Belle Poule*, were feasted with the best of wine and victuals: you were received with all the honors that such a brutal and uncivilized nation as ours could invent; our Government acceded to the request you made; our men dug up the body you wanted; our soldiers carried it down to your ships; our guns fired salutes in its honor and yours; our officers and governors did their utmost to please and welcome you, and held you out, at parting, the hand of fellowship.

The next thing we heard of you, dear JOINVILLE, was, that you had flung your best cabin furniture overboard; turned your ship into a fighting monster—all guns; and had made a solemn vow to die—to sink to a man—'ods marlinspikes and lee-scuppers! *rather than strike to the English.*

Nobody asked you to strike to them. They had just been treating you with every imaginable kindness and courtesy; in reply to which you shook your fist in the faces of the brutal Islanders, and swore you would never be bullied by them.

It was a genteel and grateful way of expressing your sense of a kindness—a polite method of showing gratitude worthy of the most civilized nation in Europe. It had not the least bluster or bad taste. It did not show that you had a propensity to quarrel—that rancor was lurking in your heart—that your return for hospitality was hatred and rage. Your conduct was decent and dignified, and worthy of a gallant sailor, a gentleman, and a King's son.

The gratitude of your nation is proverbial. The fondness of the Carlists of France for the men who sheltered and fed them, when their countrymen would have had their heads off, is known by all persons who read a French newspaper. You, of the younger branch, seem also to possess the same amiable quality.

What a compliment to our country is this new pamphlet you have been publishing!—a compliment still greater than that of proposing to fight us with the *Belle Poule!*—You were kindly received in our perfidious Island last year. You visited our cities, towns, and country, our towns inland and seaboard. And your benevolent patriotism instantly pointed out to you, while considering the "*Etat des Forces Navales de la France*," that it would be very easy to burn all these fair quiet towns, lying so peaceful and confiding along the water-side. They were entirely defenceless, and their unprotected condition touched your great soul, and suggested to your Christian spirit the easy opportunity of plunder.

Brave Prince: bold seaman: good Frenchman!—You can't see your neighbor comfortable, but you long to cut his throat. Prudent Statesman—you are at peace, but you must speculate upon war; it is the formal condition of the nation you represent; the refined and liberal, the honest, and unsuspicious, the great and peaceful French nation.

You want a steam marine for your country, because with it the most audacious aggressive war is permitted. You don't want "brilliant successes" any more; your chivalrous spirit suggests more agreeable conquests. "With a steam navy," say you, "nothing will prevent us from inflicting upon the enemy's coasts losses and sufferings unknown to them hitherto." The riches accumulated on our coasts and in our ports, would no longer be in safety. Our arsenals are crowded with ships: how they would burn! Our warehouses are full of wealth—what is it for, but for Frenchmen to plunder? Our women are the most beautiful in the world. *Sacré-bleu!* how they would scream, as five hundred jolly lads from the *Belle Poule* came pouncing down upon them!

Dear JOINVILLE, I can fancy you dropping down the river Thames, and the generous thoughts filling your bosom as (the QUEEN perhaps by your side, all smiles and kindness,) you look at the millions of merchant-ships lying round about you. While the sun is shining, the people are shouting welcome, the QUEEN smiling on his arm—the dear fellow is thinking how glorious it would be to burn all those ships and destroy that odious scene of peace, plenty, and confidence. Dear fellow! nice Prince—God bless you!

I declare I never read a paragraph more creditable to the writer's head and heart than this:—"*Our present packet-boats would, from their great swiftness, form excellent corsairs in time of war. They could come up with a merchant-ship,* PILLAGE IT, BURN IT, *and be away before the war-steamers themselves could reach them!*" It is quite noble—Christian, thoughtful, prince-like, and Frenchmanlike—it ought to be printed in large letters, in letters of blood for preference. The beautiful reflection of a French philosopher, suggested by a scene of plenty.

By heavens! the extravagances of mad old GILRAY, the severed heads and reeking axes, the hideous mixture of grinning and murder with which he was wont to typify a Frenchman, are feeble compared to this. Here is a lad—the hope of the nation—anxious to maintain "the honor of France"—and how? by murdering, pillaging, burning, butchering in England. His argument is—You are at peace; therefore, had you not better get ready for war? "*Employ*," the dear boy says, "*the leisure of peace to prepare and sharpen a blade which will strike effectually in time of war.*" Of course, that is the end of peace.

Suppose His Royal Highness, Field Marshal Prince Albert, after his visit to Eu the other day, had taken advantage of his vast military experience, and on his return to England had addressed a report to the War-office, suggesting a "Plan for burning Cherbourg," "Hints on the practicability of bombarding Toulon," "Slight suggestions for a general massacre of the inhabitants of the French coast between Dunkirk and Bayonne;" our neighbors would have thought it a delicate compliment no doubt—a pleasing manifestation of opinion from a person closely connected with the throne; a kind proof of the good feeling between one country and the other.

But no; *we* don't do these things, dear Prince. We are perfidious Englanders; brutal in our habits, vulgar in our notions; absorbed by gross pursuits of commerce, and coarse lust of gain. We are not civilized: we do not care for glory. There is only one nation that really cherishes glory and possesses civilization. It is yours, dear JOINVILLE! There is only one nation that prides itself in its rapacity, and glories in its appetite for murder. There is only one nation that boasts of its perfidiousness, and walks the world in the sunshine, proclaiming itself to be an assassin. We may be perfidious, but at least we have the decency of hypocrisy. We may be sordid, but at least we profess to worship Christian peace—not Murder and Napoleon.

It is for you to do that: for you to fulfill the mission given you by Heaven, which made you as it made an animal of prey. It is only you who shout daily with fresh triumph your confession of faith, that you will rob when you can; that when at peace you are meditating aggression; that statesmanship for you is only the organization of robbery; you who call rapine, progress—murder and pillage, "the propagation of French ideas," and massacre, "the maintenance of the rank of France in Europe." Go pander to the vanities, JOINVILLE, of your sage and reasonable nation! foster their noble envy, recreate their angelic propensity to work evil—inflame their Christian appetite for war. The King's son of such a nation can surely not be better employed than in flattering the national spirit. If he love peace, they say he is a bad Frenchman. Commerce is brutal and English, unworthy of the polished intelligence of the French people. Their *culte* is glory. Continue, JOINVILLE, to minister to that noble worship; the more you insult your neighbors, the more "national" your countrymen will think you. Don't spare your insults, then, but suggest fresh plans of invasion with the calm assurance which renders your nation so popular all the world over. Assert your claims in the true, easy, quiet, unambitious, gentle, good-humored French-polished way, so little querulous, so calmly dignified, so honestly self-reliant? Do this, and you can't fail to become more popular. Invent a few more plans for abasing England, and you will take your rank as a Statesman. Issue a few more prospectuses of murder, and they'll have you in the Pantheon. What a dignity to be worshipped by those, who, if not the leaders, at any rate are the Bullies of Europe.

Agréez, Monseigneur,
Les sentimens de Reconnaissance respectueuse
avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être,
de Votre Altesse Royale le profond Admirateur,
PONCHE.

THE DIAMOND NECKLACE.

A Paris correspondent of the Boston Atlas, relates the following very doubtful story:

He states that the Countess Jeanne, one of the leaders of the aristocracy of the faubourg St. Germain, died last month, and the inspection of some half-burned papers, which she was destroying when the grim tyrant surprised her, unraveled a strange mystery, that has always enshrined her. After the downfall of Napoleon, one of the proscribed emigrants brought with him from England the Countess, whom he introduced into one of the oldest families of Paris as a lady of high rank. A request was made that her origin should be unknown, and this was most strictly complied with. She was introduced into society, and soon became noted for her piety, charity, and love of retirement. Time passed on—the emigrant died, and was soon followed by the nobleman, whose will directed that the Countess should continue to occupy the pavillion, and receive the pension—while no attempt was to be made to unravel her sacred secret. She gradually mixed in society, gained all hearts, and at the time of her death, was unsurpassed as a match-maker, keeper of secrets, and devotee. Well, the papers were not entirely consumed, the physician found enough to awaken his suspicions, and on the shoulders of his late patient he discovered indelible proofs that this model of virtue and fashion, an invitation to whose saloon had been the passport to the first society in France, was no other than Jeanne de Sux, alias the Countess de la Motte, the authoress of the disgraceful Necklace story, in the days of Marie Anoinette. She was publicly whipped, branded on both shoulders, and sentenced to the Saltpetrie for life—from whence she unaccountably escaped, and her after life has been unknown until the above development. The affair has created quite a stir among the great folks, particularly those who have boasted of their intimacy with Madame la Comtesse Jeanne.

To the Editor of the Christian World:

DEAR SIR: I send you for publication the annexed extract of a letter from an esteemed friend, and the translation therein referred to. Placido was imprisoned for alledged participation in the recent insurrectionary movement in Cuba. ——.

"The prayer, written by Placido, the mulatto poet confined in the Matanzas jail, has been sent to me. You will recollect that he had some reputation in that city, his effusions having been often admitted into the columns of the AURORA. Two visiters to the prison having expressed their contempt for his merits as a poet, he wrote for them this 'Prayer,' and a piece entitled, 'My Despair.' The latter I could not decypher, but I send you a translation I have attempted of the former. I confess that the spirit of the original has lost much in the translation, which is as literal as could be made, but the feelings of the poor fellow are in some measure learned from the following." F. W.

PRAYER TO GOD.

From the Spanish of Placido, a prisoner in the Matanzas Prison.

BEING of love unbounded! mighty God!
In overwhelming grief to Thee I fly.
Extend Thy hand Omnipotent, and rend
From this base calumny the odious veil;
Tear Thou away the ignominious seal,
With which the world now seeks to brand my brow.
Thou King of kings! God of my ancestors,
And mine! Thou art my sole defender, Lord!
All things obey Thee. The dark sea, its waves,
And finny tribes, the daylight of the skies,
The ambient air, the Southern fires, and the
Northern snows, the life of plants, the rivers'
Ebb and flow, hang upon Thy will alone.
Thou hast all power; Thou canst them destroy,
And by Thy sacred breath again restore.
Deprived of Thee, the whole sinks into nought,
Lost in the deep eternity of Time.
Yet even void obeys Thee, for, out of
Nothing, all mankind thou didst create.
I cannot deceive Thee: God of mercy!
Let thy eternal wisdom search my soul.
In oppress'd innocence, from the free air
Restrained, by calumny most foul her wings,
Are closed. Still, if to Thee seem good that I,
By cruel malice now shall die; and, to
Feast malignant joys, my cold remains to
Outrage be resigned, then speak——, take Thou this
Life, and in me thy will fulfill, my God!

DISCOVERY OF A NEW QUADRUPED.

Mr. Audubon, in a letter of the 20th of June, written 110 miles above Port Union, in latitude 49 degrees 10 minutes North, communicates the "discovery of an animal which bids fair to become not only a valuable but a domestic one." He had taken refuge in a wood during a storm, and saw two enormous beasts at play, such as he had never seen or heard of before, but somewhat resembling kangaroos. A companion shot one of these animals, the other fled. The buffalo, or mountain elk, says Mr. Audubon, is nothing to compare to this animal in the scale of worth. It sits on its hind legs; its front legs, or arms, are short, armed with short claws, and it bounds or jumps with its hind legs. It has a tail somewhat like that of a sheep, about ten inches long; and around the middle of the body it has a ring of flesh, about twelve inches thick in the middle or centre, which produces a large quantity of oil. On its head are two horns, very similar to the horns of a deer, but no more than 18 inches long; the head is shaped very much like that of a deer, and has the same kind of teeth; but what is more remarkable than all the rest, the coat is of the most beautiful fur I ever beheld—of a dark brown color. The proportions of the one we killed were very great, it weighed to the best of our calculation, upward of 600 pounds; and it measured, from the tip of the head to the end of the tail, 8 feet 4 inches, which appears to be their full size.

We had no sooner killed it, than some Indians, attracted by the report of the rifle, joined us. Our interpreter conversed with them; they said, that in these woodlands, similar animals were in great abundance. The Indians call it in their own tongue, the "*ka-ko-ka-ki*," or jumper: they feed on grasses, herbs, and foliage. Upon observing us take off the skin, the Indians expressed a desire to have some of the flesh, which we gave them. We cooked some of the same, and found it delicious; it was very white and tender, and tasted like veal; but the ring on the body was nearly all oil, and the whole upper part will produce a great quantity. The Indians took us to their huts, or village, which consisted of six families; there we saw no less than six of these animals domesticated. Two young ones, male and female, for which I bartered some beads, I intend to send down to the fort the first opportunity.

BEAUTIFUL.—A recent traveller gives an account that when he was walking on the beach in Brazil, he overtook a colored woman with a tray on her head. Being asked what she had to sell, she lowered the tray, and with reverend tenderness, uncovered it. It was the lifeless form of her babe, covered by a neat white robe with a garland round the head, and flowers within the little hands that lay clasped upon its bosom. "Is that your child?" said the traveller. "It was mine a few days ago," she replied, "but the Madonna has it for her little angel now." "How beautiful you have laid it out?" said he. She added cheerfully, "Ah, what is that to the bright wings it wears in Heaven!"

Books,

For Sale at the Office of the American A. S. Society, 142 Nassau St. N. Y.

THE LIBERTY BELL of 1844, an Annual, published for the Massachusetts Fair, and consisting of various original articles, from the ablest Anti-Slavery writers in this country, Great Britain and Ireland.

XIMENA, AND OTHER POEMS, by *James Bayard Taylor.* Philadelphia, 1844.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THIEVES, or a true picture of the AMERICAN CHURCH AND CLERGY, by *S. S. Foster;* and various other standard Anti-Slavery works.

New-York, July 4, 1844.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her.

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortment of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail. CHARLES WISE,
Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.
Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of fifteen or twenty boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association.—The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*
BROUGHTON MEADOWS, }
Northampton, April 14, 1844. }

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent.* Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

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